

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXII (No. 11)

NOVEMBER, 1918

NO. 750

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CHIEF OR MEDICINE-MAN OF IKOLO, LAKE NTOMBA, UPPER CONGO.

Showing full regalia of cowrie shells etc. (Photo by Rev. A. E. Scriviner, Bolobo. By permission of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE PUNISHMENTS IN THE OTHER WORLD.

AS DESCRIBED IN THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER, THE SIBYL-
LINE ORACLES, THE ACTS OF THOMAS, AND
THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THE earliest Christian description in detail of paradise and hell is the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In its imagery it has little or no kinship with the Book of Daniel or the Revelation of John. Its only parallels in canonical Scripture, with the notable exception of the Second Epistle of Peter, are to be found in Isaiah lxvi. 24; Mark ix. 44, 48, and in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Luke xvi. 19ff. But the true parallels for, if not the sources of, its imagery of the rewards and punishments which await men after death, some scholars think were derived from foreign beliefs. Whatever the outside influences, there can be no doubt that our Apocalypse influenced many later Christian visions and descriptions of paradise and hell, and became a direct forerunner of Dante's great poem, the *Divina Comedia*, in the division of the different classes of sinners, in the variety and horror of the punishments appropriate to the crime, and in the picture of paradise. Dante may not have known the Apocalypse, although his inscription on the gate of the Inferno,

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi, eh' entrate,

i. e., "All hope abandon, ye who enter in," could as well be applied to Peter's Inferno; but the framework of his poem comes from other apocalypses which, in turn, were ultimately influenced by Peter's.

Since the greater part of the Petrine Apocalypse treats of the other world and gives us a vivid and elaborate picture of the torments of the wicked, we have selected notable parallels from the Sibylline Oracles, the Acts of Thomas, and the Apocalypse of Paul, which

latter no doubt drew from the Petrine Apocalypse. In all these writings, hell is represented—to use the words of Milton (*Paradise Lost*, I, 61ff.)—as

“A dungeon horrible, on all sides around
 As one great furnace, flamed; yet from those flames
 No light, but rather darkness visible
 Served only to discover sights of woe,
 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell: hope never comes
 That comes to all, but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed.”

I. THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

Introduction.

In the oldest list of sacred writings, in the so-called *Muratorian Fragment*¹ of the second century, we read: “The apocalypses also of John and Peter only do we receive, which (latter) some among us would not have read in church.” But before this mention Clement of Alexandria in his *Hypotyposcs*, according to the testimony of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, VI, 14), gave “abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed—I mean the Book of Jude and the other General Epistles; also the Epistle of Barnabas and that called the Revelation of Peter.” Also in his *Eclogae propheticæ* (Chaps. 41, 48, 49), Clement gives some quotations from the Revelation of Peter, mentioning it twice by name.

Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia, who died as martyr in 311, in his *Symposium*, II, 6, says: “Wherefore we have also learned from divinely inspired Scriptures that untimely births, even if they are the offspring of adultery, are delivered to care-taking angels.” Though Peter is not here mentioned, the purpose of the passage is the same as that of one of the quotations given by Clement.

Eusebius (d. 339 A. D.), in his *Hist. Eccles.*, III, 25, expressly mentions the Revelation of Peter along with the Acts of Paul and the *Shepherd* of Hermas as spurious books, while at III, 3, he says:

¹ So called because first published in the year 1740 by the Italian scholar Muratori. In convenient form it was published by H. Lietzmann (in *Kleine Texte*), Bonn, 1902. Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, 1901, p. 21, has endeavored to prove that the *Muratorian Fragment* has reference not to the Apocalypse, but to the Epistles of Peter, which Weinel calls “one of the boldest efforts ever attempted by exegetes” (in Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den neutest. Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 285).

“As to that which is called the Preaching and that called the Revelation of Peter, we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic writings. Since neither among the ancients nor among the ecclesiastical writers of our own day has there been any one that has appealed to testimony taken from them.”

Macarius Magnes, in his *Apocriticus*, IV, 6, quotes about the year 400 as from a heathen opponent of Christianity the following: “Let us by way of superfluity cite also that saying in the Apocalypse of Peter,” etc., and at IV, 16, he examines this passage again, naming the Revelation of Peter, and supporting the doctrine of the passage by the authority of prophecy and the Gospel.

In the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, written in the sixth century, the oldest Græco-Latin manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, the Revelation of Peter stands at the end, after the *Shepherd* of Hermas and the Acts of Paul, whereas in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus it stands among the “Antilegomena,” or disputed writings, of the New Testament. The lists also give the length of the Revelation, viz., *Catalogus Claromontanus* 270 stichoi, and the *Stichometry* thirty more. According to this the Revelation was about as long as the Epistle to the Galatians (311 stichoi).

Sozomen (middle of the fifth century), in his *Hist. Eccles.*, VII, 19, says: “For instance the so-called Apocalypse of Peter which was esteemed as entirely spurious by the ancients, we have discovered to be read in certain churches of Palestine up to the present day, once a year, on the day of preparation, during which the people most religiously fast in commemoration of the Saviour’s Passion” (i. e., on Good Friday). Sozomen himself belonged to Palestine.

This was all that was known of the Revelation of Peter till the year 1886, when a fragment was discovered in an ancient burying-ground at Akhmim, in Upper Egypt, together with Peter’s Gospel and a part of the Book of Enoch.

The fragment, which was published in 1892, represents probably about one half of the entire work. It begins in the middle of an eschatological discourse of Jesus, probably represented as delivered after the resurrection, for verse 5 implies that the disciples had begun to preach the gospel. It ends abruptly in the course of a catalogue of sinners in hell and their punishments.

Since the fragment follows the Gospel of Peter, Harnack² declared that the fragment belongs to the Apocalypse of Peter which is mentioned so often by ancient writers. In this he was followed

² In *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1893), IX, 2; (1895) XIII, I, 71-73.

by most scholars, and the Akhmim fragment is on this account usually called the Apocalypse of Peter. Not so Albrecht Dieterich,³ who thinks that the Apocalypse is nothing but a portion of the Gospel of Peter. Like the Gospel of Mark (in xiii) and that of Matthew (in xxiv), the Gospel of Peter contained a "little apocalypse" which, according to this authority, we now have almost complete in the fragment.

However this may be, the Apocalypse was probably composed in the first half of the second century; the place of its origin—whether Palestine or Egypt—cannot be determined.

The Apocalypse of Peter "has some points of contact with the Second Epistle of Peter; hence it is supposed that pseudo-Peter had it before him, and that he drew from it the impulse to pose in the person of the prince of the Apostles. Antique heathen ideas of Hades are traceable in its descriptions of the pains of hell, particularly Orphic-Pythagorean traditions. But their presence in the author's mind is probably explained by the use of Judaistic literary sources, and not of heathen works."

Our Apocalypse must not be confounded with the *Apocalypsis Petri per Clementem* (containing explanations alleged to have been given by Peter to Clement of Rome about revelations alleged to have been made by Christ to Peter himself), preserved in Arabic and Ethiopic manuscripts, a miscellaneous collection scarcely older than the eighth century.

In the following we make the text as published by E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha*, I, Bonn, 1908 (forming part of *Kleine Texte*, edited by H. Lietzmann), the basis of our translation. Klostermann's text is based upon the facsimile edition of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter by O. von Gebhardt, Leipsic, 1893.

A. *The Fragment of Akhmim.*

I. (1) . . . Many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdition. (2) But these will become sons of perdition. (3) Then God will come unto my faithful ones who hunger and thirst and are afflicted and test their souls in this life, and the children of lawlessness he will judge.

II. (4) And the Lord continued saying, Let us go into the mountains: let us pray. (5) And when we, the twelve disciples went with him, we asked him to show us one of our brethren, the

³ See Nkyia, *Beiträge zur Erläuterung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, Leipsic, 1893; comp. also Krüger, *Allchristliche Literatur*, Freiburg, 1898, p. 33f; Waitz, art. "Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments" in Herzog-Hauck, *R. E.*, XXIII, 102 (1913).

righteous who are gone forth out of the world, that we might see of what manner of form they are, and, having taken courage, might also encourage the men who hear us.

III. (6) And as we were praying, suddenly there appeared two men, standing before the Lord, on whom we were not able to look. (7) For there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining, such as eye of man never saw; and no mouth is able to utter, or heart to conceive, the glory which surrounded them, and the beauty of their countenance. (8) When we saw them we became amazed; for their bodies were whiter than any snow and ruddier than any rose. (9) And the white on them was mingled with the red. I am utterly unable to describe their beauty. (10) Their hair was curly and bright and seemly both on their face and shoulders like one crown woven of spikenard and diversicolored flowers or like the rainbow in the sky. Such was their seemliness.

IV. (11) When we beheld their beauty we became astonished at them, for they had appeared suddenly. (12) And approaching the Lord I said, Who are these? (13) He said to me, These are your⁴ righteous brethren, whose form ye desired to see. (14) And I said to him, And where are all the righteous ones? or how doth the world look in which those live, who have such a glory?

V. (15) And the Lord showed me a very great space outside of this world, exceeding bright with light, and the air there lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible and bearing blessed fruit. (16) And so great was the perfume that it was borne thence even unto us. (17) And the inhabitants of that place were clad in the shining raiment of angels; and their raiment was as beautiful as their country. (18) And angels mingled there with them. (19) All the inhabitants had the like glory, and praised the Lord with one voice, rejoicing in that place. (20) The Lord saith to us, This is the place of your brethren,⁵ the righteous men.

VI. (21) But I also saw another place over against this, very squalid; and it was the place of punishment; and those that were

⁴ The codex reads "our" which might be original with reference to Rom. viii. 28, where Jesus is called a brother. But it is probably more correct to read "your" with reference to verse 20.

⁵ So some authorities. Another authority suggests: high priests; a third: predecessors, leaders.

punished there, and the punishing angels⁶ had their [raiment] dark, like the air of the place.

VII. (22) And some were hanging by the tongue. These were those who blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them lay fire burning and tormenting them.⁷

VIII. (23) And there was a great lake, full of flaming mire, in which were certain men that perverted righteousness, and tormenting angels afflicted them.

IX. (24) But there were also others, women, hanged by their hair over that mire that bubbled up; and these were they who adorned themselves for adultery. The men, however, who mingled with them in the defilement of adultery were hanging by the feet, and their heads in that mire, and they said with a loud voice, We did not believe that we should come into this place.

X. (25) And I saw the murderers and those who conspired with them, cast into a strait place, full of evil snakes, and smitten by those beasts, and turning to and fro in that punishment; and like clouds of darkness did worms afflict them. And the souls of the murdered stood and looked upon the punishment of the murderers and said, O God, thy judgment is just.

XI. (26) And near that place I saw another strait place into [which] the blood and the filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lake. There sat women having the blood up to their necks, and over against them sat many children born to them out of due time and cried; and there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes. These were those who not being married conceived and caused abortion.

XII. (27) And other men and women were burning up to the middle and were cast into a dark place and were beaten by evil spirits, and their inwards were eaten by restless worms. These were they who persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

XIII. (28) And near those there were again women and men gnawing their own lips, and being punished and receiving a red-hot iron in their eyes. These were they who blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness.

XIV. (29) And over against these again other men and women

⁶ Of punishing angels we also read in *Hermas*, *Pastor*, Simil. VI, 3; Book of Enoch lxxiii. 12; lxxiv. 29; lxxxiii. 4; lxxxv. 17.

⁷ Descriptions of the torments as given in the Apocalypse of Peter, we also find in other works, e. g., Acts of Thomas, Sibylline Oracles, Vision of Paul, which are given further on.

gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths. These were the false witnesses.

XV. (30) And in another place there were pebbles sharper than swords and any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment. These were they who were rich and trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows, but despised the commandment of God.

XVI. (31) And in another great lake, full of pitch and blood and mire bubbling up, there stood men and women up to their knees. These were the usurers and those who took interest on interest.

XVII. (32) Other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff, and, having reached the bottom, they were again driven by the tormenters to climb upon the cliff, to be hurled down again. And they had no rest from this punishment. These were they who had defiled their bodies having acted as women; and the women who were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman.

XVIII. (33) And beside that cliff there was a place full of much fire. There stood men who with their own hands made for themselves images instead of God. And alongside of these were other men and women having rods of fire and striking each other, and never ceasing from such punishment. These were they who. . . .

XIX. (34) And others again near them, women and men, burning and turning themselves and roasting. And these were they that leaving the way of God. . . .

B. *Fragments Known from Quotations.*

1. The Scripture says that infants that have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel by whom they are educated and so grow up, and they will be, it says, as the faithful of a hundred years old are here. Wherefore Peter also says in the Revelation: "and a flash of fire, which came out from those newly born children, and struck the eyes of the women."—Clem. Alex., *Eclog. proph.*, 41.

2. For instance, Peter in the Apocalypse says: "The children that are born out of due time shall be of the better part; they are delivered over to a care-taking angel that they may attain a share of knowledge and gain the better abode after suffering what they would have suffered if they had been in the body; but the others shall merely obtain salvation as injured beings to whom mercy is shown, and remain without punishment, receiving this as reward.—But the milk of the women running down from their breasts and congealing," as Peter says in the Revelation, "shall engender small

flesh-eating beasts, and these run up upon them and devour them, teaching that the punishments are for their sins."—Clem. Alex., *Eclog. proph.*, 48, 49.

3. Whence also we have received in divinely inspired writings that "untimely births, though they be a fruit of adultery, are delivered to care-taking angels." For if they originated against the intention and order of that blessed nature of God, "how could they be delivered to angels to be brought up in great quietness and ease? How could they also, in order to accuse their own parents, freely call them to account before the judgment-seat of Christ and say, Thou, O Lord, hast not denied to us this light common [to all]; but they have exposed us to die, despising thine own command?"—Methodius, *Sympos.*, II, 6.

4. Over and above let this also yet be added, what is read in the Apocalypse of Peter. He introduces the judgment over heaven and earth with the following words: "The earth shall present all men before God at the day of judgment being itself also to be judged, with the heaven also which encompasses it."—The heathen author (Porphyry?) by Macarius Magnes, *Apocriticus*, IV, 6, 16.

5. And again he says, which is entirely wicked, when he speaks: "And all the hosts of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and all the stars shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine and as the leaves fall from the fig-tree."—*Ibid.*, IV, 7.

II. THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

II, 238ff.

This section treats of the great day of judgment, on which the righteous shall be saved, whereas the wicked shall pass through the flaming fire and the unquenchable flame and be undone to all ages. The wicked are those who,

...committed murder, or were accomplices,
Liars and thieves, cheats, grievous ruiners of homes,
Parasites, marriage-breakers, heaping up shamelessness,
Fiendish, overbearing, lawless, idolaters
260 And those who have deserted the great immortal God
And became blasphemers and persecutors of the pious,
Destroyers of believers and enemies of the righteous;
And all those deceitful and shamelessly two-faced
Presbyters and eminent deacons who regard...

^s See Isaiah xxxiv. 4 (lxx); comp. also 2 Pet. iii. 10f; Rev. vi. 13f.

- 265 Being afraid, beat others unjustly
 Trusting to, and misled by rumors. . . .
 More destructive than panthers and wolves. . . .
 And as many of them as were proud and usurers,
 Who heap usury on usury at home
- 270 And destroy the orphans and widows ;
 And all such who to widows and orphans
 Give of unrighteous deeds, and when of their substance
 They give, accompany it with reproaches ; and those who old
 parents
 Deserted, not reverencing them, expenses caused to parents
- 275 Not repaying ; also the disobedient,
 And such as use violent language to their parents ;
 Who having received a pledge deny it.
 Servants, too, that have wronged their masters ;
 And again, those, who polluted themselves by debauchery.
- 280 Or such as have loosed a virgin's girdle
 For secret intercourse. Women, who, having burdens in the
 womb,
 Procure abortion, and such who wickedly throw away their
 offspring.
 Sorcerers and sorceresses, all these
 The anger of the heavenly and incorruptible God
- 285 Shall bring to the pillar where, all around,
 Flows an inexhaustible river of fire. All alike
 The angels of the immortal and eternal God
 With flaming scourges and fiery chains,
 Binding them down with unbreakable bonds,
- 290 Shall punish terribly ; then in the midnight gloom
 Will they be cast to Gehenna's Tartarean beasts,
 To the many and fearful, where darkness is supreme.
 But, when they shall have inflicted many punishments
 On all who had an evil heart, thereafter
- 295 A fiery whirlpool from the great river shall carry them around,
 Because they busied themselves with wicked works.
 Then from the distance shall their lamentation arise on every
 hand,
 Over their miserable fate ; both from fathers and children,
 From mothers and their infant sucklings.
- 300 There shall be no sufficiency to their tears, nor shall
 the compassionate voice of sympathizers be anywhere heard ;
 But they shall howl, kept in the black darkness

Below Tartarus. In these accursed localities
 They shall pay threefold the evil they have perpetrated.
 305 Racked by the sea of fire they shall gnash with their teeth,
 Consumed by thirst and by their flaming torment.
 They shall call it a blessing to die, but shall not be able.
 Neither death nor night shall any longer bring them rest.
 They shall vainly pour out supplications to God on high
 310 Who will turn his face unmistakably from them;
 For he gave seven ages as time of repentance
 To erring men by a pure virgin's hand.—

For the benefit of the reader we add here a few words on the Sibylline Books, which belong to the most remarkable literary productions that we have.

In the ancient world the Sybil was regarded as an inspired prophetess. She belonged to no prophetic order or priestly cast, but held a position free and uncontrolled as a superhumanly gifted organ of the will and counsels of the gods. The number of such sibyls is variously stated at different times. According to Marcus Varro, as quoted by Lactantius (*Divine Institutes*, I, Chap. 6), there were ten Sibyls, who are mentioned by name.

Written accounts of the oracles delivered by the Sibyls obtained in Greece and Asia Minor only a private circulation. Still, though they were not preserved by the State or publicly consulted, we must not underrate their importance in the life and thought of the Eastern classical world. In Rome, however, they acquired quite a unique position. It is not necessary to treat here of the very ancient collection of these oracles, said to have been purchased by King Tarquinius Priscus, or to record the frequent occasions on which they were consulted with a superstitious reverence by the State before their destruction in the fire that consumed the capitol in the time of Sylla (84 B. C.). Their place was soon afterward taken (75 B. C.) by a collection amounting in all to about one thousand verses, made in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy, by order of the Senate.

The Greek books of Sibylline Oracles which have come down to us belong to that large body of pseudepigraphical literature which originated near the beginning of the Christian era (about 150 B. C. to 300 A. D.), consisting of such works as the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, the Psalms of Solomon, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Second Book of Esdras. The production of this class of literature was most notable at Alexandria in the time of the

Ptolemies. As soon as Judaism began to look with a spirit of philosophic inquiry into Greek and Oriental literature, it attached itself to such elements as seemed congenial. A composite product was the result. The Alexandrian Jews were the first to adopt this course by fusing the remnants of Greek sibyllism with their native prophecy. In this way, no doubt, arose the Jewish Sibyl, assuming to be a daughter of Noah, and skilled in all prophetic knowledge. "And this passion for reproducing famous oracles spread beyond the land of Egypt, and gathered breadth and volume with its years of growth. Not only were the historical and philosophical productions of the Greeks made use of, but the speculations of the Persians, the mysteries of Egyptian priests, and the poetical myths and legends of all nations contributed to the medley which Hellenistic Jews were fond of turning to a pious purpose. And just as the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture was handed over as a sort of inheritance to the early Christian Church, so the passion for producing pseudonymous books took easy possession of many Christian writers of the first centuries. Hence the large number of apocryphal Gospels and Acts and Apocalypses."

Our Sibylline Books represent a heterogeneous assemblage of materials, Jewish, Christian, and heathen, of earlier and later origin, "a chaotic wilderness, to sift and arrange which even baffles the most acute criticism. For, unfortunately, it is not the case that each book forms of itself an original whole, but that even the single books are some of them arbitrary aggregates of fragments. The curse of pseudonymous authorship seems to have prevailed specially over these oracles. Every reader and writer allowed himself to complete what existed after his own pleasure, and to arrange the scattered papers now in one, now in an opposite manner. Evidently much was at first circulated in detached portions, and the collection of these afterward made by some admirer was a very accidental one. Hence duplicates of many portions are found in different places. And the manuscripts which have come down to us exhibit great discrepancies in the arrangement."⁹

It is remarkable how many of the early Christian Fathers quote these spurious oracles,¹⁰ so that Celsus, according to Origen (*Contra Celsum*, V, 61), terms the Christians *Sibyllistai*, i. e., believers in sibyls, or sibyl-mongers. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria,

⁹ Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Vol. III, p. 276. English translation, Edinburgh, 1886.

¹⁰ See my article "The Sibylline Oracles in the Writings of the Church Fathers" in *Lutheran Quarterly Review*, Gettysburg, July, 1885.

Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Eusebius,¹¹ Augustine,¹² Jerome, but more especially Lactantius, all quote the oracles for apologetic purposes, and it is to these and other Christian writers that we are indebted for the preservation of the entire collection that has come down to us.

As to the relation of the Jewish and Christian Sibyllines to the ancient heathen ones, it is practically impossible to determine it. They assumed, of course, the outward form of the older oracles, being written in Homeric verse; but they transgress every rule of prosody. As regards the matter, it is more than probable that the later Sibyls used much of the older material lying ready to hand; but in the present state the Christian element preponderates.

The first printed edition of the Oracles was published at Basel in 1545; a better edition was that of Opsopœus (i. e., Koch), Paris, 1599; Gallæus, Amsterdam, 1689; a good edition was published by Alexandre, Paris, 1841-56, 2 vols.; 2d ed. in one vol., 1869; by Friedlieb, Leipsic, 1852, with a German translation. In 1891 an edition was published by Rzach at Vienna; the latest is that of Geffcken, Leipsic, 1902, published for the series of the Greek Christian writers of the first three centuries, edited by the Church Fathers' Commission of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, still in course of publication.

We referred above to the fact that Eusebius and Augustine also mentioned, or rather quoted, the Sibylline Oracles. Their quotation is the more remarkable because it contains an acrostic, which is the most extraordinary of all the Sibylline fabrications. It is found in the second section of the eighth book of the Oracles (VIII, 217-244/250), and the first letters of these lines form the words,

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ,

i. e., "Jesus Christ God's Son, Saviour, Cross." It is quoted in full by Eusebius in Constantine's "Oration to the Assembly of the Saints," Chap. XVIII, and, excepting the seven last lines, by Augustine in his *City of God*, Book XVIII, 23. The same Father also states, that when they were speaking about Christ, Flaccianus, a very famous man, of most ready eloquence and much learning, produced a Greek manuscript, saying that it was the prophecies of the Erythrean Sibyl, in which he pointed out a certain passage that has the initial letters so arranged that those words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ υἱός σωτήρ (i. e., Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour) could be read. Then he goes on and gives these verses, of which the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹ See at the end of this section.

initials yield that meaning, and says: "But if you join the initial letters of those five Greek words, they will make the word *ἰχθῦς*, that is, 'fish,' in which word Christ is mystically understood, because he was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality, as in the depth of waters" (August., *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23).

In the English translation of Augustine's work as given by Dodd (Edinburgh, 1871) the Greek letters are retained at the beginning of the lines; in the translation of Eusebius (*The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, London, Bagster & Sons, 1845) the English equivalent is retained at the beginning of the lines. We here give both forms.

[From Augustine's *City of God*.]

I Judgment shall moisten the earth with the sweat of its standard,

H Ever enduring, behold the King shall come through the ages,

Σ Sent to be here in the flesh, and judge at the last of the world.

O O God, the believing and faithless alike shall behold thee

Υ Uplifted with saints, when at last the ages are ended,

Σ Sisted before him are souls in the flesh for his judgment.

X Hid in thick vapors, the while desolate lieth the earth,

P Rejected by men are the idols and long-hidden treasures;

E Earth is consumed by the fire, and it searcheth the ocean and heaven;

I Issuing forth it destroyeth the terrible portals of hell.

Σ Saints in their body and soul freedom and light shall inherit;

T Those who are guilty shall burn in fire and brimstone for ever.

O Occult actions revealing, each one shall publish his secrets;

Σ Secrets of every man's heart God shall reveal in the light.

Θ Then shall be weeping and wailing, yea, and gnashing of teeth;

E Eclipsed is the sun, and silenced the stars in their chorus.

O Over and gone is the splendor of moonlight, melted the heaven.

Υ Uplifted by him are the valleys, and cast down the mountains.

Υ Utterly gone among men are distinctions of lofty and lowly.

I Into the plains rush the hills, the skies and oceans are mingled.

O O, what an end of all things! earth broken in pieces shall perish;

Σ Swelling together at once shall the waters and flames flow in rivers.

- Σ Sounding, the archangel's trumpet shall peal down from heaven
 Ω Over the wicked who groan in their guilt and their manifold sorrows.
 T Trembling, the earth shall be opened, revealing chaos and hell.
 H Every king before God shall stand in that day to be judged.
 P Rivers of fire and brimstone shall fall from the heavens.

[From Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*.]

Judgment! Earth's oozing pores shall mark the day
 Earth's heavenly King his glories shall display;
 Sovereign of all, exalted on his throne,
 Unnumbered multitudes their God shall own;
 Shall see their Judge, with mingled joy and fear.

Crowned with his saints, in human form appear,
 How vain, while desolate earth's glories lie,
 Riches and pomp, and man's idolatry!
 In that dread hour, when nature's fiery door
 Startles the slumbering tenants of the tomb,
 Trembling all flesh shall stand; each secret wile,

Sins long forgotten, thoughts of guilt and guile,
 Open beneath God's searching light shall lie:
 No refuge then, but hopeless agony.

O'er heaven's expanse shall gathering shades of night
 From earth, sun, stars, and moon withdraw their light;

God's arm shall crush each mountain's towering pride;
 On ocean's plain no more shall navies ride.
 Dried at the source, no river's rushing sound

Shall soothe, no fountain slake the parched ground.
 Around, afar, shall roll the trumpet's blast,
 Voice of wrath long delayed, revealed at last.
 In speechless awe, while earth's foundations groan,
 On judgment's seat earth's kings their God shall own.
 Uplifted then, in majesty divine,
 Radiant with light, behold Salvation's sign!

Cross of that Lord who, once for sinners given,
 Reviled by man, now owned by earth and heaven,
 O'er every land extends his iron sway.
 Such is the name these mystic lines display;
 Saviour, eternal King, who bears our sins away.

III. THE ACTS OF THOMAS.¹³

Chaps. 55-57.

55. And the apostle said to her, "Tell us where thou hast been." And she answered, "Dost thou, who wast with me, to whom also I was intrusted, wish to hear?" And she commenced thus: "An ugly-looking man, all black, received me; and his dress was exceeding filthy. And he took me to a place where there were many chasms, and a great stench and most hateful odor were given forth thence. And he made me look into each chasm, and I saw in the chasm blazing fire, and fiery wheels run there, and souls were hung upon those wheels, dashing against each other. And there was crying and great lamentation, and no Saviour was there. And that man said to me, These souls are akin to thee, and in the days of numbering they were given over to punishment and destruction. And then [when the torture of each is completed] others are brought in in their places; in like manner also these are again succeeded by others. These are they who have exchanged the intercourse of man and wife. And again I looked down, and saw infants [newly born] heaped upon each other, and struggling and lying upon each other. And he said to me, These are their children and for this they are placed here for a testimony against them.

56. "And he brought me to another chasm, and as I looked into it, I saw mud, and worms spouting forth, and souls wallowing there; and [I heard] a great gnashing of teeth thence from them. And that man said to me. These are the souls of women which left their husbands [and of husbands which left their wives], and committed adultery with others, and which have been brought to this torment. And he showed me another chasm, and looking into it, I saw souls hung up, some by the tongue, some by the hair, some by the hands, others by the feet, head downward, and smoked with smoke and sulphur. Concerning these the man which accompanied me said the following: The souls hung up by the tongue are slanderers, and such as have spoken false and disgraceful words and are not ashamed of it. Those hung up by the hair are the shameless, who are not ashamed at all and go about with uncovered heads in the world. Those hung up by the hands are they which took that which did not belong to them and have stolen and who never gave anything to the poor voluntarily, nor did they help the afflicted; but

¹³ Particulars on the Acts of Thomas are given in *Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas*, by B. Pick, Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1909, pp. 222ff.

they so acted because they wished to get everything, and cared neither for law and right. And these hung up by the feet are those who lightly and eagerly walked in wicked ways and disorderly paths, not visiting the sick, neither burying those who departed this life. On this account each soul receiveth what it hath done.

57. "And again he led me forth and showed me a very dark cavern, exhaling a very bad odor. Many souls were peeping out thence, wishing to get some share of the air. And their keepers would not let them peep out. And my companion said to me, This is the prison of these souls, which thou hast seen. For when they have fully received their punishment for that which each hath done, others succeed them. Some are fully eaten up, others are given up to other punishments. And the keepers of the souls in the dark cavern said to the man that had charge of me, Give her to us, that we bring her to the others till the time cometh when she is given to punishment. But he said to them, I will not give her to you, because I am afraid of him who gave her up to me. For I was not told to leave her here; I shall take her up with me, till I get an injunction about her. And he took me and brought me to another place, where there were men who were bitterly tortured. He that is like thee took me and gave me up to thee, saying to thee, Take her, for she is one of the sheep which have wandered away," etc., etc.

IV. THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL.

Introduction.

The Apocalypse of Paul is extant in three main versions, the Greek, Latin, and Syriac. The Greek was published by Tischendorf in *Apocalypses apocryphae*, Leipsic, 1866, pp. 34-69 (cf. Preface, pp. xiv-xviii), and was also translated into English by A. Walker. It is found in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII. The ancient Latin version was edited from an eighth-century manuscript by James in *Apocrypha anecdota*, Cambridge, 1893, pp. 1-42, and is given in English by A. Rutherford in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IX. An English translation of a Syriac version was published by J. Perkins in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. S., 1865, Vol. VI. Of these the Latin seems to be the fullest. In this Apocalypse we are introduced to mysteries that Paul beheld when he ascended to the third heaven, "and was caught up into paradise and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter" (2 Cor. xii. 2ff.). In the company of an angel, Paul leaves this world, beholds on his way the departure of the souls of the just and the sinful,

and arrives at the place of the just souls, in the shining land of promise, on the shore of the Acherusian Lake, out of which the City of God arises. Thence he is led to the place of the wicked and beholds the manifold sufferings of the damned. Finally he is allowed to visit paradise, where Adam and Eve had committed the first sin.

The work itself suggests that it was composed in or about the time of Theodosius (379-395), and in or near Jerusalem. Traces of it first appear in the Homilies of Augustine on the Gospel of John (*Tractat. in Ioannem*, XCVIII, 8), delivered about 416, and in the *Church History* of Sozomen (VII, 19) written about 440. Augustine judges with severity the deception practised by the writer, but Sozomen is witness that in other circles, especially among the monks, the work met with approval. During the Middle Ages the work seems to have enjoyed great popularity as may be seen from H. Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, Halle, 1895, in which he gives two shorter Latin versions, enumerates twenty-two different manuscripts of the Latin and "gives particulars of French, English, Danish, and Slavonic forms of the legend."

Different from our work is the *Ascension of Paul*, a second- or third-century work mentioned only by Epiphanius (*Haerces.*, XXXVIII, 2), a work replete with abominable things, and used exclusively by Cainites and Gnostics.

Translation.

31.¹⁴ And he¹⁵ said to me, Come and follow me, and I will show thee the souls of the impious and sinners. And he took me to the setting of the sun, and I saw the beginning of heaven founded on a great river of water, the Ocean which surroundeth all the earth. And when I was at the outer limit of Ocean I looked, and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness, and I sighed.¹⁶

And I saw there a fervent river of fire, and in it a multitude

¹⁴ The numbers refer to the sections in the Latin version which is fuller than the Greek.

¹⁵ I. e., the angel. Dante in the *Inferno* is accompanied by the poet Virgil.

¹⁶ Dante describes (*Inferno*, III, 22-30) the situation thus:

"There sighs, complaints, and ululations loud
Resounded through the air without a star,
Whence I, at the beginning, wept thereat,
Languages diverse, horrible dialects,
Accents of anger, words of agony,
And voices high and hoarse, with sounds of hands
Made up a tumult that goes whirling on
Forever in that air, forever black,
Even as the sand doth, when the whirlwind breathes."

of men and women immersed up to the knees, and other men up to the navel, [others even up to the lips,]¹⁷ others moreover up to the hair. And I asked, Who are these? And he said to me, [They are neither hot nor cold, because they were found neither in the number of the just nor in the number of the impious.¹⁸ For these spent the time of their life on earth passing some days in prayer, but others in sins and fornications, until their death.

And who are these immersed up to their knees in fire? These are they who when they have gone out of church throw themselves into strange conversations to dispute. Those indeed who are immersed up to the navel are those who, when they have taken the body and blood of Christ go and fornicate and did not cease from their sins till they died. Those who are immersed up to the lips are the detractors of each other when they assemble in the church of God; those up to the eyebrows are those who nod approval of themselves and plot spite against their neighbor.

32. And I saw on the north a place of various and diverse punishments full of men and women,¹⁹ and a river of fire ran down into it. Moreover I observed and saw pits great in depth, and in them several souls together, and the depth of that place was as it were three thousand cubits, and I saw them groaning and weeping.] And I asked the angel and said, Who are these? And he said, These are they who did not hope in the Lord, that they would be able to have him as their helper. And I said to him, What is the depth of this river? And he said to me, Its depth has no measure, but it is immeasurable.

34. I further observed the fiery river and saw there a man being tortured by Tartaruchian angels having in their hands an iron with three hooks with which they pierced the bowels of that old man: and I asked the angel and said, Who is this that suffereth this punishment? And he said to me, This old man whom thou seest was a presbyter; and when he had eaten and drunk, then he performed the service of God.

35. And I saw there another old man led on by malign angels²⁰ running with speed, and they threw him into the fiery river up to his knees, and they struck him with stones and wounded his face like a storm. And I asked, Who is this? And he saith, This man

¹⁷ Sentences in [] are not found in the Greek.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that in the *Inferno* Dante also meets first such indifferentists who lived "without fame or infamy."

¹⁹ The Greek has here: thieves and slanderers and flatterers.

²⁰ In the Greek: four angels.

was a bishop, and that name indeed he was well pleased to have; but in the goodness of God he did not walk, righteous judgment he did not judge, the widow and the orphan he did not pity [he was neither affectionate nor hospitable];²¹ but now he hath been recompensed according to his works.

36. And I saw another man in the fiery river up to his knees. Moreover his hands were stretched out and bloody, and worms proceeded from his mouth and nostrils. And I asked, Who is this? And he said to me, This whom thou seest was a deacon who devoured the oblations [and committed fornication, and did not right in the sight of God, for this cause he unceasingly payeth this penalty.

And I looked closely and saw alongside of him another man whom they delivered up with haste and cast into the fiery river, and he was in it up to the knees. And there came the angel who was set over the punishments having a great fiery razor, and with it he cut the lips of that man and the tongue likewise. I asked, Who is that? And he answered, He was a reader and read to the people, but he himself did not keep the precepts of God.

37. And I saw another multitude of pits in the same place, and in the midst of it a river full of a multitude of men and women, and worms consumed them. Who are those? These are those who exacted interest on interest and trusted in their riches and did not hope in God that He was their helper.]

And I looked to another place where there was a brazen wall in flames, and within it men and women eating up their own tongues, dreadfully judged. And I asked, Who are these? These are they who in the church [speak against their neighbors],²² and do not attend to the word of God, [but as it were make naught of God and His angels.

38. And I saw another old man down in a pit and his countenance was like blood. And I asked, What is this place? And he said, Into that pit stream all the punishments. And I saw men and women immersed up to their lips and I asked, Who are these? And he said, These are magicians who prepared for men and women evil magic arts and did not find how to stop them till they died.

And again I saw men and women with very black faces in a pit of fire. I asked, Who are these? These are fornicators and adulterers who committed adultery having wives of their own; likewise also the women committed adultery having husbands of their own; therefore they unceasingly suffer penalties.

²¹ These words in [] not in the Latin.

²² So in the Greek.

39. And I saw girls having black raiment, and four terrible angels having in their hands burning chains, and they put them on the necks of the girls] and led them into darkness. Who are these? These are they who did not listen to their parents, but before their marriage defiled their virginity.

[And again I observed there men and women with hands cut and their feet placed naked in a place of ice and snow, and worms devoured them. And I asked, Who are these? They are those who harmed orphans and widows and the poor, and did not hope in the Lord. And I observed and saw others hanging over a channel of water and their tongues were very dry, and many fruits were placed in their sight, and they were not permitted to take of them, and I asked, Who are these? These are they who break their fast before the appointed time.

And I saw other men and women hanging by their eyebrows and their hair, and a fiery river drew them, and I said, Who are these? These are they who join themselves not to their own husbands and wives but to whores.

And I saw other men and women covered with dust and their countenance was like blood, and they were in a pit of pitch and sulphur and running down into a fiery river. Who are these? These are they who committed the iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah, the male with the male.

40. And I saw men and women clothed in bright garments, having their eyes blind, placed in a pit. Who are these? These are of the people who did alms, and knew not the Lord God. And I saw other men and women on an obelisk of fire, and beasts tearing them in pieces. And I saw the angel of penalties putting heavy punishments on them and saying, Acknowledge the Son of God; for this was predicted to you, when the divine Scriptures were read to you, and you did not attend. Who are these men and women? These are women who defiled the image of God when bringing forth infants out of the womb, and these are the men who lay with them. And their infants addressed the Lord God and the angels who were set over the punishments saying, Cursed be the hour of our parents, for they defiled the image of God, having the name of God but not observing His precepts; they gave us for food to dogs and to be trodden down of swine; others they threw into the river. But their infants were handed over to the angels of Tartarus who were set over the punishments, that they might lead them to a wide place of mercy, but their fathers and mothers were tortured in a perpetual punishment.

And after that I saw men and women clothed with rags full of pitch and fiery sulphur, and dragons were coiled about their necks and shoulders and feet, and angels having fiery horns restrained them and smote them, and closed their nostrils, saying to them, Why did ye not know the time in which it was right to repent and serve God, and did not do it? And I asked, Who are these? These are they who seem to give up the world for God, putting on our garb, but the impediments of the world made them wretched, not maintaining *agapae*, and they did not pity widows and orphans; they did not receive the stranger and the pilgrim, nor did they offer the oblations, and they did pity widows and orphans; they did not receive the stranger and the pilgrim, nor did they offer the oblations, and they did pity their neighbor. Moreover their prayer did not even on one day ascend pure to the Lord God, but many impediments of the world detained them, and they were not able to do right in the sight of God, and the angels enclosed them in the place of punishments. Moreover they saw those who were in punishments and said to them, We indeed when we lived in the world neglected God, and ye also did likewise: as we also truly when we were in the world knew that ye were sinners. But ye said, These are just and servants of God, now we know why ye were called by the name of the Lord; for which cause they also pay their own penalties.

And sighing I wept and said, Woe unto me, woe unto sinners! Why were they born? And the angel answered and said unto me, Why dost thou lament? Art thou more pitiful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who established judgment and sent forth every man to choose good and evil in his own will and do what pleaseth him? Then I lamented again very greatly, and he said to me, Dost thou lament when as yet thou hast not seen greater punishment? Follow me and thou shalt see seven times greater than these.]

41. And the angel took me up from these torments, and set me above a well, which had seven seals upon its mouth. And the angel who was with me said to the angel at the well of that place, Open the well, that Paul the beloved of God may see, because there has been given to him authority to see the torments. And the angel of the place said to me, Stand afar off, until I open the seals. And when he had opened them, there came forth a stench which it was impossible to bear. And having come near the place, I saw that well filled with darkness and gloom, and great narrowness of space in it [so as to admit one man only].²³ And the angel who was with me said to me, This place of the well which thou seest is cast off from

²³ So in the Latin.

the glory of God, and none of the angels is importunate in behalf of them;²⁴ and as many as have professed that the holy Mary is not the mother of God, and that the Lord did not become man out of her,²⁵ and that the bread of thanksgiving and the cup of blessing are not His flesh and blood,²⁶ are cast into this well.

42. And I saw toward the setting of the sun [and I saw there a restless worm and in that place there was gnashing of teeth. Moreover the worms were one cubit long, and had two heads, and there I saw men and women in cold and gnashing of teeth.]²⁷ And I said: who are these? These are they who say [that Christ did not rise from the dead and]²⁸ that there is no resurrection of the dead; and to them mercy never cometh.²⁹

²⁴ In the Latin: If any man shall have been put into this well of the abyss and it shall have been sealed over him, no remembrance of him shall ever be made in the sight of the Father and His Son and the holy angels.

²⁵ In the Latin: Who are those who are put into the well? They are whoever shall not confess that Christ has come in the flesh and that the Virgin Mary brought Him forth.

²⁶ The Latin reads: that the bread and cup of the Eucharist of blessing are not this body and blood of Christ.—In the Syriac the whole sentence reads thus: Those who do not confess Jesus Christ, nor His resurrection, nor His humanity, but consider Him as all mortal, and who say that the sacrament of the body of our Lord is bread.

²⁷ So in the Latin.

²⁸ So in the Latin.

²⁹ In the Latin we read: And I asked and said, Is there no fire nor heat in this place? And he said, In this place there is nothing else but cold and snow; and even if the sun should rise upon them, they do not become warm on account of the superabundant cold of that place and snow.

It is interesting that in Dante's *Inferno* the ninth and last circle is the abode of traitors, farthest removed from the source of all light and heat, the frozen lake of Cocytus. According to Dante hell or the *Inferno* has nine circles. The *first* circle is the moderate hell for the least guilty class of sinners who were ignorant of Christianity and deprived of the benefit of baptism. With the *second* circle hell proper commences. It contains the souls of carnal sinners who are driven by fierce winds in total darkness. In the *third* circle are the epicures and gluttons, whose god is their belly. In the *fourth* are the prodigal and avaricious; in the *fifth* the filthy spirits of brutal arrogance and wrath. In the *sixth* heretics and infidels are punished. The *seventh* is the abode of murderers, suicides, and blasphemers. In the *eighth* are seducers, flatterers, Simoniacs, soothsayers, barrators, hypocrites, thieves, evil counselors, schismatics, falsifiers; in the *ninth* traitors.

NOTES ON THE MEDIEVAL CONCEPTION OF
PURGATORY.

BY ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

SOME thirty years ago the German scholar R. Schroeder studied Old French monuments for references to Purgatory, and found them so rare as to lead him to the conclusion that the doctrine had taken little hold on the medieval mind. A few years later the Italian Schiavo made a further investigation which seemed to confirm the findings of Schroeder. In 1890 Peter Pfeffer published a study of the Old French *Fabliaux*, from which he draws the following inference as to the popular reception of the doctrine: "Since our sources contain not the slightest hint of the existence of an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell, of a place of purification such as is commonly termed Purgatory; but since on the contrary the righteous go straight to Heaven; and since Hell is a place of punishment, it is true, but not of everlasting punishment; since St. Peter has the power to free the souls who are burning in Hell,—two inferences seem clear: first, that the doctrine of Purgatory did not take hold of the popular imagination; and second, that belief in eternal punishment was not general."

I have not found literary allusions to Purgatory so rare in the Middle Ages as these authorities seem to have done; and in any case, it is not by any means certain that the infrequency of the theme in literature argues general non-acceptance of the doctrine. Karl Vossler, in his discussion of the Divine Comedy, maintains that the dogma is unfitted for artistic treatment, and finds Dante's handling of the subject wooden and painfully orthodox, while his Hell and Heaven have verve and freedom. A medieval poet handled successfully only the simple and decided; it remained for the modern to work with half-tints and delicate gradations.

The Persians had conceived of a separation of good men from bad, following which all the latter, by means of a period of physical suffering, attained in time the requisite purity and were all gathered together into the bliss of Ahura Mazda. As early as the second century, A. D., Clemens and Origen had developed a similar dogma in the Christian Church. They were no doubt influenced by Plato, who had conceived of punishment as education and purification. Only the absolutely and hopelessly depraved, they maintained, are

eternally punished, and even the punishment of these is educative, serving as it does for an example to others. No one is free from sin, hence every one must suffer to some extent this purifying punishment, which begins immediately after death and lasts for a period dependent on the sinfulness of the individual. But such a doctrine clashes a little with the efficacy of Christ's expiatory death; so that St. Augustine deemed it wise to step in with the teaching of Predestination, which gave Hell back all its terrors.

The existence of Purgatory was, however, emphatically affirmed at Carthage (A. D. 397), Florence (1439), and Trent (1545-63), so that there is no question as to the official attitude of the Church in the matter, during practically all her history. The Albigenses, the Waldenses, and other heretical sects, devoted a great deal of energy to attacking this particular doctrine, evidently regarding it as one of the foundation-stones of the religion from which they dissented. In the course of the twelfth century the English monk Henry of Saltrey put into Latin the story of the Purgatory of St. Patrick, which he claims to have had from a certain Prior Gilbert, who in his turn had it from the knight Owein, whose personal experience it narrates. This story, retold in French by Marie de France, is, after Dante's epic, the most famous of all medieval literary treatments of the subject. Purgatory in this story is not a place apart, but is Hell itself. By going there in his lifetime and fighting the Devils who came to tempt him, the knight was able to cleanse himself of his sin before death.

Marie de France wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century. Early in the thirteenth century, the preacher Jacques de Vitry describes again this spot in Ireland where one may enter Hell,—which if done after confession and in a contrite and repentant spirit, results only in purification and sobering, but which for the frivolous means death, physical and spiritual. This place-identification of Purgatory and Hell was of course not universal. The common thought was of an intermediate location between Hell and Heaven, as the state was an intermediate state between the two. The last prayer of Richard Cœur-de-Lion (see Cornish, *Chivalry*, p. 134), was that he might be granted a place in Purgatory from his death till the Day of Judgment, if that were sufficient to wash away his sins.

Philippe de Navarre, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, warns his nephew: "If the young man does little penance in this life, he must do penance great and long in Purgatory." About

the same period, the romantic wandering minstrel Rustebœuf, in his *Complainte d'Outre-Mer*, speaks of the blood of Christ,

“By which the fires are smothered
Both of Hell and of Purgatory;”

which lines it is interesting to compare with the teachings of St. Augustine. The anonymous author of *Curt de Paradis* describes the sufferings of all the souls

“Which were in Purgatory,
All crying: ‘Father of Glory,
Wilt thou not yet have pity on us?’”

The unknown author of another poem called *Passion de Nostre Scignour* explains that a shade higher than Hell is

“another stage...
There is the fire of Purgatory;
Those who attain the glory of God
Do thus penance in this place.”

In the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach (about 1200), the hero begs prayers for the soul of his deceased father; and by the end of the century we have the elaborate treatment of the dogma by Dante. It is unnecessary to multiply citations. I have a long list of them from the Old French, but the curious thing about them is that practically none of them come before the thirteenth century. The conclusion seems clear that the doctrine crept into literature late and very gradually. That it was much the same in the real life of the period is shown by the interesting fact that clerical purgatorial societies,—a sort of spiritual insurance organization, whose deceased members' souls were the beneficiaries of masses said for them by the survivors,—are found from an early date, but that similar laymen's societies do not appear till about the thirteenth century, although they became very popular when they had once taken root. The Purgatory idea was a plant of slow growth.

Moreover, it must be admitted that there are plenty of instances of what appears a different theology,—of souls going straight to Heaven at death, with neither a tedious wait for a distant Judgment Day, nor a painful wait in a place of salutary suffering. Pope Urban said in his speech at Clermont: “If any lose your lives on the journey by land or sea or in fighting against the heathen, their souls shall be remitted *in that hour*. This I grant through the power of God vested in me.” Matthew Paris, in his *English His-*

tory, notes under date of the year 1249, "there departed to the Lord several illustrious French crusaders. . . . and flew like martyrs to the celestial kingdoms." And to turn again to literature, the early thirteenth-century French poem *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* says of the knight :

"If he has done the duty of his Order
He cannot be prevented
From going straight to Paradise."

But there is no difficulty in all of this. The author of *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* was a churchman, and no doubt believed in Purgatory as implicitly as all other clerks did. But his meaning,—the very emphasis of his assertion shows it,—is to exempt the knight from a necessity laid upon ordinary mortals without exception, just as Pope Urban exempted the crusader from the common lot. Knights and crusaders were the defenders of the Church, and this exemption was their reward. But we have no reason to believe that either theologians or poets were inclined to eliminate Purgatory from the experience of mankind in general.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

IV. EDUCATION AND INITIATION.

THE period of life from the age of seven until maturity is perhaps the most important in the life of our savage. It is during this period that the foundation of his future is laid, and in which he receives that teaching which will have a significant influence upon his inner life and his behavior to the tribe of which he will soon become a recognized member.

Civilized people usually consider "education" to be almost an exclusive feature of civilization and as of comparatively late development in its history. How many, for instance, have heard of naked savages attending school; of being taught therein, spinning and weaving, singing and ethics, and the manufacture of weapons? How many know that little savage boys and girls are taught a code of morality which will compare with anything that Christian civilization has to offer; that little cannibal children are taught to shun theft, to fear adultery, to honor their fathers and their mothers, and to obey those set in authority over them?

Nevertheless, all savage tribes, however low they may be, in

our opinion, in the scale of civilization, have a most distinct system of education, which teaches them how to fit themselves for the battle of life and which inculcates in their minds a form of morality, often of a very high type. Both sexes receive instruction in separate schools; neither sex is allowed, under severe penalties, to approach the school when the opposite sex is receiving instruction.

Over two hundred years ago the Tuscarora of North Carolina explained to the traveler Lawson that the initiation of their children "was the same to them as is to us to send our children to school to be taught good breeding and letters."

Many of the ceremonies undergone during this period are of a very painful character and have for their object the training of the young in habits and ways that will make them real men and women. Boys are taught to endure thirst and hunger, and their duty to the tribe. Among the North American Indians the young bucks are stripped almost naked, two incisions are made in the muscles of their breasts, through these, thongs of hide are passed, the ends of which are fastened to a beam of wood. The lads are then made to dance and tug at the hanging thongs; they work themselves into a frenzy until the muscles of their chest give way; they are then saluted as braves.

The young native of the Andaman Islands is taught to be generous and self-denying and is reproved if he be impudent and forward. The Bororo Indians of Brazil, when they enter the young men's house, are taught spinning and weaving and singing, as well as the manufacture of weapons.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge, in his description of the tribes of Torres Straits, says that during their initiation the lads are taught a code of morals which indicates a really high feeling for morality. Theft and borrowing without leave were prohibited. The hungry and thirsty were to be satisfied. Parents were to be honored and provided with food, even to the extent of self-denial on the part of the son and his wife. Marriage was forbidden to cousins and also, with a remarkable delicacy of feeling, to the sister of a man's particular friend. A man must not propose marriage to a girl or even follow her when she walks about. A man must stand shoulder to shoulder with his brother when fighting and not shirk his duty. As a result of his personal investigations, Dr. Hatton concludes it is very probable that these people, as a whole, "act up to their system of morality as well as, or better than, the most Christianized peoples of Europe live up to their professions."

Many savages believe that, in some mysterious way, they are related to certain animals which act as their guardian spirits or protectors; these are known to us as their totems. As soon as a child is born, it is named after a particular animal which becomes in some mysterious way related to the child and influences its future career. It is in these schools that the lad is taught to which

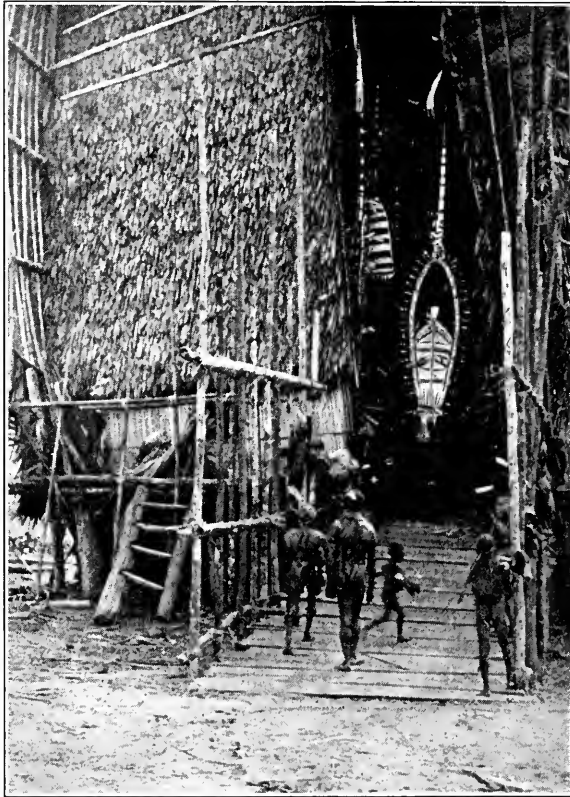


Fig. 9. THE "ERAVO" OR SCHOOL IN NEW GUINEA, showing the tribal totem and where the masks are worn during tribal festivals. (Photo from Rev. J. H. Holmes, *Man*, 1905.)

totem he belongs and that he must on no account partake of the animal after which he is named. In New Guinea the totem is represented by a mark with a representation of the animal depicted thereon (Fig. 9, compare Fig. 7).

Some tribes believe that at this time the novice undergoes a new birth and becomes a new creature. His hair is plucked, certain

teeth are extracted, and he is given a new name which must be kept a profound secret; otherwise any person who wishes him harm would be able to exert a magical influence over him. Henceforth he is forbidden to partake of certain foods, and so powerful is the force of this "taboo," no power on earth will, as a rule, force him to eat the forbidden article, even to the point of starvation.

One of the most mysterious and, at the same time, most remarkable rites undergone at this period is the custom so well known to us from Biblical sources (Lev. xii. 3). At one time it was held to be the peculiar, if not the exclusive, ceremony of the Jews; but it is practised by savages all over the world. Its origin is wrapt in mystery; no reason can be given for the custom even by those who



Fig. 10. MYSTERY RITE OR "NLOGO" CUSTOM AT KIBOKOLO, UPPER CONGO.

(By the courtesy of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

continually practise it. No physical or sanitary reason exists for the operation, and that there "is no real necessity to the health or welfare of the negro race is shown by the increase of vigorous tribes like the Kru boys of West Africa who entirely repudiate the idea."

On the Upper Congo, to undergo this ceremony, the lads live in lodges built for the purpose. When it is necessary for them to visit the village for any purpose, such as to obtain food, masks are worn as shown in Figure 10. Until he has undergone this rite, he is not held to be a man, women would despise him as being a child and would in many cases refuse to marry him.

In East Africa, lads go into the bush and disguise themselves in grotesque masks of wood and cloth, with grass, horns, and skins

of wild beasts. On their return, they dance with the girls one by one, in the center of a ring.

Among the Yabim of New Guinea the operation is performed in a long hut, about one hundred feet long, which is supposed to represent the belly of a monster. Here the lads live in seclusion for three or four months, avoiding all sight of women. Food is brought to them by the elder men. Spare time is passed in weaving baskets and playing on certain sacred flutes, which are only used on these special occasions. The instruments are of two patterns, i. e., male and female, and are supposed to be married to each other. If any woman saw these flutes she would surely die. After the period of seclusion the lads, now regarded as full-grown men, march back to the village in procession, where a banquet has been prepared and the girls and women await them in festal attire.

In West Africa, a girl is sent to a "fattening house" to be specially fattened before marriage. During her stay she must not wash her face, nor do any work. Her retirement may last from a few weeks to two years, according to the wealth of her parents, and during this period an operation is performed which is a counterpart to that performed on the men. On leaving the "fattening house," she is especially painted and decorated, a feast is provided and dances given.

Fat women seem to be greatly admired by savages. In some parts of Africa ladies are put on a special diet to increase their bulk. Curds and cream, thickened with flour, is given in large quantities, and so well does this diet succeed, the ladies in the end are quite unable to move about. One dame who allowed herself to be measured was found to be fifteen inches round the arm, twenty inches round her calf, and fifty-two round the chest! In Northern Africa, thin women are looked upon with aversion, because they are thought to impart leanness and ill-health to the beholder.

V. SAVAGE FASHIONS.

Nearly all savage races "beautify" or adorn themselves in some way or other, usually the men more so than the women. It is to be noted that it is chiefly the openings of the body that receive attention, the nose, mouth, etc. Many tribes, as in South America, pull out their eyelashes or eyebrows; other races file their teeth to points; some perforate their lips, their ears, or their noses. In one particular instance a man slit his upper lip to the base of his nose, turned back the ends and fastened them to his nostrils, thus exposing his upper teeth in this hideous fashion. A very common

practice is to perforate the lips, into the hole thus made a pebble, piece of bone or metal is inserted; the ornament is increased in size from time to time, till a hole is made large enough to insert a cheese plate. Sometimes, as among the Sara-Kamba of Central Africa, two large plates are worn—the one in the upper lip being three inches in diameter, and the lower one six inches across. One result of wearing these “peleles” is that prolonged conversation on the part of the wearer is impossible.

In Central Africa, women were seen who passed their tongues through the holes and licked their noses. Nor is the tongue itself forgotten; one young lady had no less than five rings fixed in hers.



Fig. 11. NATIVE OF NEW BRITAIN,
Showing nose-sticks worn through the perforated nose.

Even a child only two or three days old will have the lobes of its ears pierced, and in time a loop will be formed so large that it can easily be slipped over the head. An African lad, fourteen years of age, wore an ornament in his ear which was six and a half inches in diameter and weighed nearly three pounds. Ornaments of this weight are by no means uncommon and necessitate the wearers throwing the lobes of their ears over the shoulders when going about their daily tasks. The Rev. G. Brown saw a man in Melanesia who had one ear fitted with a clock, the clock itself being thirteen inches in diameter. In Borneo lads have holes punched

through the tops of their ears. The youth stands against a tree or post, the hole being punched out by means of a cylinder of bamboo.

Another widespread custom is to thrust sticks or pieces of bone through holes which have been made in the base of the nose, in some cases completely closing up the nostrils. This is apparently done for superstitious reasons, because these sticks are not always worn. When a man believes he is in danger of any kind, he will thrust them through his nose, thus avoiding the danger that might otherwise befall him. Major Powell-Cotton says it is a common

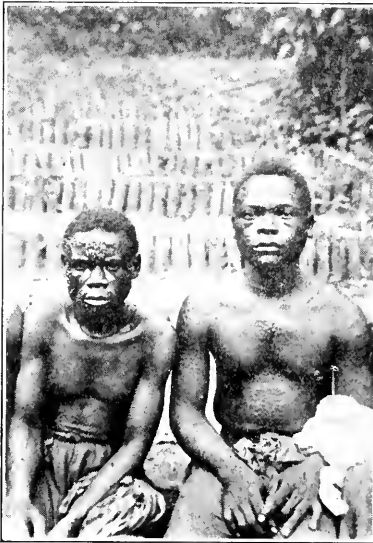


Fig. 12. UPOTO, "KELOIDS" ON FACE AND CHEST. Fig. 13. BOPOTO TRIBE, SHOWING COIFFURE.

Upper Congo tribes.

(Photos by the Rev. W. Forfeitt. By permission of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

practice in Central Africa, for natives to cover their mouths and nostrils with their hands to keep evil spirits from entering (Fig. 11).

The Papuans of New Guinea have a different method of wearing nose-sticks. In their case, a stick is thrust through a hole made in the septum of the nose, which is by this means completely blocked. One dandy wore in his nose the two legs of a pig, each bone being seven inches long and three quarters of an inch thick.

In Africa and Australia, raised gashes or "keloids" are made

on various parts of the body, chiefly on the face and chest. In some instances, as with the Congo tribes, the whole face is one mass of this cicatrization (see Figs. 12 and 13). The Balolo have lumps of flesh as large as pigeon eggs protruding from each temple, above the base of the nose and upon the chin. The Batwenda make incisions often in the form of a crocodile or of some wild beast. On the west coast of Africa, the Whydahs cut both cheeks in such a manner as to give the appearance of being pitted with smallpox; the same has been said of the Yao women of the east coast.

In the Upper Congo regions these cuttings are made in early childhood, but only just sufficient to indicate to which tribe the child belongs. Later on the boys and girls themselves are urged to cut their own keloids and to do so without whimpering. The Rev. J. H. Weeks, one of our chief authorities on the Upper Congo, says that he has seen boys and girls sitting by the river's edge summing up the necessary courage to make the incisions, and when they failed to do so, they were ridiculed by the others, until they would at last run the knife along the forehead, using the river as a looking-glass. About the age of twenty, the man or woman, if of a fashionable turn of mind would work away week by week, cutting the flesh deeper and deeper and putting wads inside the cuts to force the flesh to stand up. The Suk and other Nile people make a mark on the skin to show the number of enemies they have killed; should the number be a long one, the marks are continued on the body of the favorite wife.

Another method of beautifying the body is that of tattooing. This practice is found all over the world and is in vogue by savages and civilized people alike. It is one of those customs which have survived from savage times to our own days. In South America, among the Chaco tribes, and in the South Sea Islands the process is a very elaborate one, the whole body, from head to foot being one mass of ornamentation. Here again we have reason to believe that superstition is at the bottom of the custom. One explanation given was that the body of a tattooed woman would be visible in the spirit-world, luminous like a fire-fly; but if she were not tattooed she would wander in total darkness. Among other reasons given for the custom is that it prevents sickness, because no demon would attack a person who is tattooed. Again, it is said that if a woman is not tattooed in this world, she will have to be in the next, where instead of the operation being spread over a period, it will be done at a single sitting, and then with very sharp knives. A similar explanation has been given for removing the eyebrows. In Borneo, they

say evil spirits are hairy like monkeys, and as the people have no wish to resemble such spirits, they pull their eyebrows out.

Hairdressing is another important feature in the toilet of the ladies and gentlemen of uncivilized races. It has been said that most African natives look upon those who let their hair grow without personal attention as little better than wild beasts; certain it is that while, as among some Congo tribes, not a particle of clothing may be worn, great attention is bestowed on working the hair into the most elaborate patterns of the hairdresser's art.

The Yaos, Anyanja, and other races of East and Central Africa shave the head and never let the hair grow more than two inches in



Fig. 14. LENGUA INDIAN OF PARAGUAY.

(By the courtesy of the South American Missionary Society.)

length, and this is clipped and shaved into all sorts of patterns. Babies' heads are shaved both sides, a little narrow band being left in the middle running from the forehead to the nape of the neck. Among the Karamojo of Central Africa, the hair is plastered with clay and cow-dung, the whole being worked up to form a chignon.

Many peoples, including the ancient Greeks, have held the hair to be particularly sacred and that a spirit or god resided therein which must not be disturbed. If the hair were to be cut the god would lose his abode, hence with some tribes to-day the hair of priests, wizards, and kings is always worn long. It is related of the Fijians that so sacred was the hair of a chief held to be, when it

became necessary to cut it, it was essential for him to eat a man before he underwent the process; the sacrifice averting any evil influence that might otherwise befall him should any ill-wisher become possessed of the clippings.

The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, notwithstanding the poverty-stricken appearance of their dwellings, are an exceedingly well-clothed people. The men wear woolen blankets made and dyed by the women, while the latter themselves wear petticoats manufactured from skins which have been carefully prepared. On feast-days all dress in the height of native fashion. Faces are more or less covered with black, red, or blue paint; long strings of beads adorn the neck and chest; a net or band of red wool trimmed with beads is fastened round the head; the hair in front of the band being drawn out and bound round with red wool; a feather is then stuck in the scalp-lock (Fig. 14).

Mr. W. Barbrooke Grubb, the principal authority on the Chaco Indian, says that the picturesque costume and the ornamental painting with which he adorns his body is in perfect harmony with his surroundings. The colors blend so beautifully that there is no doubt whatever that the Indian has, in a very great degree, the idea of fitness and harmony.

The most important personage among savages is the chief or medicine-man. As a rule, he is not the leader in war, as formerly held; his power rests upon his supposed connection with the unseen world. Frequently he is the best-dressed man of the tribe. In Central Africa he wears armlets and leglets made of row upon row of cowrie-shells; the skin of a wild-cat, with the tail hanging in front, is worn round his loins; his eyelids are often whitened with paint, while in his hand he grasps the celebrated throwing-knife of the Upper Congo regions. Iron bells and medicine-flask dangle from his chest (see frontispiece).

The chief being the supernatural guardian of his people, it is his duty to study their wants and interests; for example, to furnish rain should it be needed. It is upon this supernatural power that his influence really rests; should he fail to give satisfaction, he may forfeit his head at the hands of his enraged people.

The old adage that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown" is particularly applicable to the savage chief. Not only is he likely to be put to death if his magical power fails, but his whole life is surrounded by restrictions and prohibitions of various kinds. Thus in Nigeria the "king" is not allowed to eat from plates, but must dine from special dishes which, when not in use, are suspended from

the roof of his hut. So sacred is his person that even should his life be in danger, no subject may go to his aid or touch his person. On one occasion a Maori chief was seen on the point of suffocation and in great agony from a bone sticking in his throat, while around him were his people lamenting but not daring to approach. A passing missionary went to the rescue and by the aid of surgical instruments, succeeded in extracting the bone, thus saving the man's life. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered, the chief demanded that the surgical instruments should be given to him as compensation for injury received—for drawing his sacred blood and touching his sacred head! In some instances the chief is forbidden to leave his "palace," or to be seen by his subjects on any pretense whatever. In Benin, however, a small concession was granted. There, on certain occasions, the outside public and strangers were granted the favor of seeing the gentleman's feet which were protruded through a screen, the rest of the body being invisible.

With the Jukos of the middle Benuë River, West Africa, as soon as the chief is considered to have reigned long enough, the big men decide to kill him. For this purpose they invite him to a great feast, at which the chief gets intoxicated on corn beer, and while he is in this condition he is speared and his successor, who has already been selected, now reigns in his stead. In one particular case the new chief was required to eat a piece of his predecessor. The head of the late chief was presented to him, the tongue cut out and given to him to eat.

The Shilluks of the Upper Nile held that the chief must be put to death before his strength failed him, otherwise his weakness would cause the cattle to die. A special house was built into which the chief together with a young virgin was taken. There he laid his head upon her lap, the door was sealed up, and without food or water both were left to await the inevitable result.

Formerly in Pondoland, a chief on coming to the throne, killed one of his brothers, then washed himself in his blood in order to make himself strong, and kept his medicines in his dead brother's skull.

A very amusing reference was apparently made to this custom of putting a predecessor to death. In South Africa some years ago a native pupil teacher was requested to write an essay on "Patience." In that essay he declared that "the greatest living example we have of patience is the Prince of Wales, for he has not yet killed his mother in order that he may come to the throne"!

"Tight lacing" round the stomach is by no means unknown to

savages, to whom, however, its results do not appear serious (Fig. 16). In some parts of New Guinea and in Africa, girdles made of finely plaited grass are worn tightly round the stomach. An African traveler states that on one occasion he was anxious to obtain one of these bands; the article however was so tightly wound on the native's body, it had to be well greased before it was possible to get it off.

When pictures of European fashions were shown to a group of Papuans they pertinently asked where our ladies got their wasp-like waists from? That question will be best answered by the next illustration (Fig. 16).

The figure on the left represents the normal human chest; that on the right shows the effect produced by tight lacing on the bony

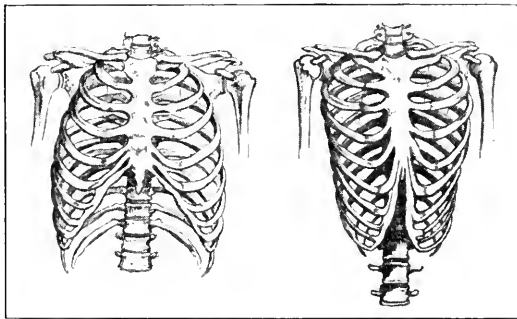


Fig. 16. RESULTS OF TIGHT LACING.

On the left, the normal human chest; on the right, the chest deformed by tight lacing. (From Sir William Flower's *Fashion in Deformity*, Macmillan Co.)

framework of a young lady whose death at the early age of twenty-three was brought about in consequence. This is by no means an extreme or an uncommon example. It will be noted that the shape of the thorax has been completely reversed from the normal by this foible of fashion, the lower end having been compressed inward, thus forcing in an upward direction the most important organs of the body—viz., the liver, the heart, and the lungs—toward the collar-bones. No vivid imagination is necessary to realize what result such an artificial diversion of nature's functions must produce. Indeed, it was at one time accepted as a physiological fact that a woman's respiration was different from that of a man; that while the former breathed from the chest man's respiration was abdominal. Recent investigations, however, go to prove that there is no

natural sex difference in respiration, but that in certain civilized races an artificial alteration has been produced by that vagary of fashion "tight lacing." No such difference exists among savage people. It is in the highest degree probable that this custom has been deleterious in very many ways to the health of civilized peoples even when practised in a modified form.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DRUIDISM.

BY DUDLEY WRIGHT.

THE Druids boasted a faith which appears to have been as imbued with life as that of any ancient or modern religious system, although little is known generally about it.

Although their religion was polytheistic in character the Druids recognized a supremacy among the gods, this Supreme being represented by the sun. Next in point of rank came the lesser divinities, who were symbolized by the moon and stars, and, in course of time, all the celestial bodies were venerated with divine honors. This characteristic was not more marked in Druidism than in other religions of a like nature where the elements were venerated. The sun as sun was not worshiped. The arch-god was B el, whose glory was manifested in the sun, and in singing hymns to the luminous orb they manifested their worship to the Supreme and not to the emblem, paying their adoration to what they regarded as the supreme power and eternal being.

It was doubtless this veneration of the celestial bodies which laid the foundation of the knowledge possessed by the Druids of astronomical science, to which C esar and other writers have borne testimony. They were certainly in possession of sufficient knowledge of the motion of heavenly bodies to enable them to fix definite times for their festivals and religious ceremonies, all of which were regulated by the sun and moon, and to calculate on a thirty-year cycle of lunar years in which the month began at the sixth day. In common with the Gauls, Teutons, and Jews, they reckoned time from evening to morning.

The Druids observed an extraordinary reticence with regard to the articles of their faith. Though great writers in other respects, they committed no part of their religious tenets or philosophy to writing, except in allegorical poems, the key to which was in the

possession only of the initiated and professed, to whom the doctrines were taught orally and by them committed to memory. The inspirer of Cæsar's account of Druidism is believed to be Divitiacus, the friend of Cæsar and Cicero and the Arch-Druid at the time of the Roman invasion. Caution must, however, be exercised in accepting as authentic all the statements Cæsar makes as to Druidical belief and worship, especially with reference to Britain, for it is obvious that he himself was not in Britain for the length of time sufficient to investigate the subject at first hand. Although, therefore, Cæsar expressly states that the Druids worshiped Mercury it must not be assumed that Mercury was the principal deity. In all probability he had noticed among the Druidical symbols the winged rod with the serpents entwined around it, which, in Rome, was one of the symbols which usually adorned the statue of Mercury. This symbol may be found engraved in conspicuous characters on the Druidical remains on the plains of Abury in Wiltshire as well as in the Thebais of ancient Egypt. The Druids had also a veneration for the cube which was another of the symbols of Mercury, but this, too, has been mentioned as a proof of the affinity alleged by some writers to exist between the religion of Druidism and the Order of Freemasons. According to Cæsar, the Druids represented Mercury as the inventor of all the arts. Hercules was also regarded as the patron of eloquence, arts, and commerce, but they called him Ogmios, a word which has for its meaning, "the power of eloquence."

Helvetia Antiqua et Nova, a work published in the sixteenth century, gives the following list of Druidical deities: Theutates or Taut, Hesus, Taranis, Belinus, Cisa, and Penninus.

Theutates or Taut is asserted to have been the supreme god or universal father. He combined apparently the attributes of Jupiter with those of Mercury, as the authority quoted states that he was the inventor of arts and a guide to travelers. The word *taut* is still preserved in Switzerland and applied to a lofty rock near Montreux, thought by some to be one of the scenes of ancient Druidical worship. In this connection it may be remembered that *tout* in some parts of England is still the name given to the highest point in a range of hills.

Hesus, the "strong and powerful," was the representative of Mars, the god of war, carnage, and bloodshed. In the German patois of Switzerland *héc's* still refers to a violent and quarrelsome person. Some writers have stated that this deity was pictured with the head of a dog. If so, it is probably identical with the barking Anubis of Egyptian mythology, who was claimed as the son of

Osiris and Nephthys and to have had the nature and characteristics of a dog. This deity had the special guardianship of the tropics.

Taranus is a word derived from *taran*, "thunder," and is identical with the Jupiter of Greece and Rome and the Thor of northern nations.

Belinus, known in the Old Testament as Baal, is identified with Apollo, the god of the sun. A wood in the neighborhood of Lausanne is still known as Sauvebelin, i. e., *Sylva Belini*, and traces of the name are to be found in many parts of England. Cormac's *Glossary* mentions an annual convention which took place at Uisneach in Meath in the month of May, where the men of Ireland went to exchange their wares and jewels. "And at it they were wont to make a sacrifice to the arch-god, whom they adored, whose name was B el. It was likewise their usage to light two fires to B el in every district in Ireland at this season, and to drive a pair of each herd of cattle that the district contained between these two fires, as a preservative, to guard them against all the diseases of that year. It is from that fire thus made that the day on which the noble feast of the apostles Peter and James is held has been called Bealtine, i. e., B el's Fire." The origin of the proverb and phrase "between two fires" is also ascribed to the passing of beasts about to be sacrificed between these two sacrificial fires. This deity, however, according to the best authorities, appears to have been the principal deity and not the fourth in succession.

Cisa was more particularly worshiped in the Grisons or Rhetian Alps. Tuesday in some of the German cantons of Switzerland is called *Cistag* or *Zistag*.

With regard to Penninus, Pen, which in Celtic means summit or head, is applied to the mountainous region of the Apennines, and the monastery of St. Bernard stands on the site of the temple of the Pennine Jupiter. The prefix *pen-* is found in various parts of Wales, e. g., Penmanmawr, Pen-y-gwint, etc., and, of course, in many Cornish names of people and places.

The Druids represented the world as an enormous animal issuing out of the abyss from the abode of an evil spirit. In common with other nations and religious systems they had their Deluge tradition, but they represented that event as occurring in a lake called Llyn Llion, the waters of which burst forth and overwhelmed the face of the whole world. One vessel only escaped in the catastrophe and in this were a man and a woman and certain of the animal species. By these Britain was re-peopled with human beings and animals. The name given to the man thus miraculously preserved

was Hu the Mighty, but he is sometimes called Cadwaldr. He is frequently represented as the diluvial god and as such is generally attended by a spotted cow. The woman preserved in the ark from the deluge was called Ceridwen. She was regarded as the first of womankind, with the same attributes as Venus, in whom were personified the generative powers. She is mentioned in several of the poems of the Bards who lived under the Welsh princes. Culhelyn, a Bard of the sixth century, refers to her as Ogyrven Ahmad, or "the goddess of the various seeds," and from this and other references of a like nature, some authorities have connected her with the goddess Ceres. Ceridwen's first-born was named Morvran, or "the raven of the sea." As an outcome of this British tradition of the Deluge, the Druids consecrated certain lakes as symbols of the event and looked upon the small islands which rose to the surface as mystical sanctuaries, because they were emblems of the ark. A rock, when discovered, was hailed as typifying the place of debarkation of Hu the Mighty, and here, on certain occasions, would be celebrated by "the Druids of the Circle," the Druids of high or advanced degree, mystical rites believed to be in commemoration of the salvation of the race from the waters of the flood.

The greatest similarity among Deluge legends to the Druidical is, perhaps, that of the Incas, who believed that no living things survived except a man and a woman, who were preserved from the flood by being enclosed in a box. When the waters subsided they were commanded by the Creator of all things to settle in Huanaco, whither the wind had carried them. Then the Creator began to raise up peoples and nations by making male and female figures of clay and painting these clay figures with the kind of garments they were to wear. He then gave life and soul to each and commanded them to multiply. The first of each nation were transformed into stones which became objects of adoration. In some parts of Peru there are great blocks of stone, some of which are nearly the size of giants.

It was a Druidical belief that water was the first principle of all things and existed before the creation of the earth in unsullied purity, but that its qualities were diminished when it became blended with the earth. Thus water was venerated because it afforded a symbol by its inexhaustible sources of the continual and successive benefits bestowed upon the human race and because of the mystical sympathy existing between the soul of man and the purity of water. The air was regarded as the residence of beings of a more refined and spiritual nature than humans, while fire was looked upon as a

vital principle brought into action at the Creation. The earth was venerated because it was the mother of mankind, and particular honor was paid to trees as affording a proof of the immense productive power of the earth. For many centuries the Druids refused to construct enclosed temples, regarding it as an outrage to suggest that the deity could be confined within any limits, and the vault of the sky and the depth of the forest were originally their only sanctuary.

Pomponius Mela tells us that the immortality of the soul was a Druidical doctrine which the Druids permitted to be published for political reasons. "There is one thing," he says, "which they teach their disciples, which hath been made known to the common people, in order to render them more brave and fearless, namely, that souls are immortal and that there is another life after the present." The precise character of this after-life has been the occasion of debate with authorities. Some hold that the Druidical belief in life after death included the tenet of transmigration, similar to the Buddhistic but differing from the Theosophical reincarnation; that is to say, that they believed in the possibility of the descent of the human into the animal species. They were apparently believers in the evolution theory, maintaining that the soul commenced its course in the lowest water-animalcules and passed through several successive gradated bodies until it reached the human species. Here the authorities diverge. According to some, at death, if the good qualities had preponderated over the evil, the soul would pass into Gwynvyd, or a state of bliss. But if the evil qualities had preponderated, then the soul would pass into an animal displaying the characteristics exhibited by the human being while on earth, though it would have further opportunities of ascent to the human and of ultimate translation to Gwynvyd, even though repeated falls should postpone this latter step for ages. Others have maintained that the Druids endeavored to persuade their followers that death was but an interlude in a succession of progressive human existences. In this or in some other world the soul would find a new body and lead another human life and so onward in an infinite cycle of lives. This latter seems to be the more probable when it is remembered that one of their maxims was that money lent in this world would be repaid in the next and that they also believed that letters given to dying persons or thrown upon the funeral pile would be faithfully delivered in the next world. In one of these two ways, however, the fear of death was removed and the people were thus instilled with courage in battle and warfare.

Another debatable topic has been the question as to whether human sacrifices were practised by the Druids, though it seems hardly open to question in view of the categorical statement of Cæsar. Divitiacus is scarcely likely to have inspired or consented to the publication of the statement if it had not been true. Possibly, however, the explanation may be found in the assertion of some writers that the practice of human sacrifices was the survival of a pre-Druidic custom, particularly as human sacrifices do not appear to have formed part of the Irish Druidical practices, though in Britain, members of the Druidic community not only took part in, but presided at, these ceremonies. These human sacrifices were, in the main, legal executions, and an interval of five years generally elapsed between sentence and execution. They believed also that those who killed themselves to accompany their friends to the next world would live with them there so that there was no lack of victims who, in time of trouble, came forward as volunteers to offer themselves as expiation. Eager to rejoin their dear departed in a happier sphere, eager to ascend to the circle of felicity, the Celts gladly mounted the sacrificial stone and death came to them in the midst of a song of joy. The old Mosaic law of "a life for a life" was also required by the laws of Cymry, but the fatal punishment inflicted by the executioner was regarded as the requital of the debt due to God and man. According to the laws of Dyonwal Moelmund the three forms of capital punishment practised were beheading, hanging, and burning. It is possible that the practice of burning was derived from Phenicia, where the yearly sacrifice of human beings by fire, which was part of the worship of Moloch, may have given rise to the custom of burning malefactors and prisoners taken in war and other immolations practised by the Druids.

The Romans issued stringent laws forbidding the continuance of the practice, affecting to regard human sacrifices with horror, though they were occasionally guilty of such practices themselves, even in their most civilized ages. Augustus ordered three hundred senators and *equites*, who had sided with Antony, to be sacrificed on the altar of Julius Cæsar.

According to Justin, the Druids declared that in times of public calamity the people could not be rid of the pestilence or trouble until they had dipped the gold and silver secured by them in a time of war in a lake, and he gives the following description of a similar ceremony: "Many persons resorted to a lake at the foot of the Gevaudan mountain, consecrated to the moon under the name of Helanus, and thither cast, some the entire human habits, linen, cloth,

and entire fleeces ; other cast in cheese, wax, bread, and other things, every one according to his ability ; they then sacrificed animals and feasted for several days."

Cæsar says that the Druids were the judges on all points of law and equity and the distributors of all punishments and rewards. They had the power of excommunication against all who did not submit to their decrees, of excluding people of all ranks from all benefits of society and even from society itself ; of deposing princes and even of condemning them to death, a power not infrequently exercised ; and of declaring war and peace. The Druids themselves were exempt from bearing arms and paying taxes. Divitiacus, the Arch-Druid, however, we learn from Cæsar, was permitted to carry arms and was even entrusted with the command of a corps in one of Cæsar's campaigns. He gives the following account of the effect of excommunication : "If any person, either private or public, does not acquiesce in their decisions, they interdict him from their sacrifices. That is, among them, the severest punishment. Those who are thus interdicted are reckoned impious and accursed ; all men depart from them ; all shun their company and conversation, lest they should sustain some misfortune from their contagion ; the administration of justice and the protection of the laws is denied to them and no honor is conferred upon them." The excommunicated had also to walk with bare feet and wear black garments for the remainder of his life.

The Druids regarded repentance and purification as necessary duties. They observed one day in seven as peculiarly sanctified and made holy by the great Creator and were wont to dedicate one tenth of all their substance to religious purposes.

The Druidical philosophy and religion were certainly equal, if not superior, to any of the philosophies and religions current in other parts of the world in their day. Manxmen ascribe to the Druids the excellent laws by which their island has always been governed, and the ancient Greeks, on their own confession, learned part of their philosophy and many of their fables from the Gauls.

THE COSMIC EYES.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

ONE of the most ancient and widely distributed of mythic concepts is that of the sun and moon, and sometimes the stars, as the eyes of celestial or cosmic deities.

In the Hindu *Rigveda* we find "the sun, the eye" (V, 59, 3), and "the eye of the sun," which has a sharp sight (I, 164, 4). It is "the eye of Surya" (V, 40, 8), who is "the golden-eyed," and of the "all-beholding Savitri" (V, 35, 8 and 9); the former representing the sun in general, the latter the sun on the horizon (or before its rising, according to the scholiast Sayana on V, 81, 4). In the *Ishnu Purana* (I, 4) we read of Vishnu in his cosmic character: "Thine eyes, O omnipotent one, are those of day and night (the sun and moon)"; while Indras has a thousand eyes (the stars), which are reduced to a hundred in the case of the Greek Argos Panoptes (= all-seeing), whose eyes were transplanted to the tail of Hera's peacock according to some (*Æschyl., Prom.,* 304; *Ovid, Met.,* I, 720, etc.). In the *Bhagavadgita* (XI) the cosmic Krishna has "the sun and moon for eyes" and is also said to be with "many eyes," etc. In the Iranian *Avesta* (*Yasna,* I, 35; cf. III, 49) the sun is the eye of Ahura-Mazda (the supreme god) and of Mithra (the sun-god), the stars also being the eyes of Mithra in his cosmic character; for he has ten thousand eyes and ten thousand ears (*Yasna,* IV, 15, etc.). In the *Ta-Keu* ode of the Chinese Shi-King the poet swears to the truth of what he says "by that day's eye whose piercing glance I fear."

Various sun-gods and solar figures are naturally conceived with only one eye, generally in the middle of the forehead. Such were the Greek Cyclopes (= round-eyed), early described as three in number (*Apollod.,* I, i, etc.—corresponding to the solar phases of morning, noon, and evening), and also the Scythian Arismaspi, whom Aristeas of Proconnesus says were "the mightiest men of all," having "but one eye surrounded with thick hair" (for the sun's rays,—*Tzetzes, Chil.,* VIII, 144, 163). Similar figures appear in many primitive myths, folk-tales, and fairy-stories, as in the History of Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights. In Norse mythology Odin is one-eyed and is fabled to have sunk his other eye in the pure well of Mim, where it remains as a pledge from which Mim

drinks mead each morning (*Elder Edda*, "Voluspa," 22). This other eye of Odin has been taken for a reflection of the sun on the sea, but is more likely the sun in the underworld, in the waters beneath the earth; whence it would seem that Odin was originally conceived as pawning his eye to Mim at sunset and redeeming it at sunrise.

The Hebrew and Arabic word *ain* signifies both a fountain, or spring, and an eye, being applied to the latter as the source of tears. Thus Ain-Shemesh, the name of a spring in Joshua xv. 7, may be rendered Eye of the Sun, as well as Fountain of the Sun; while Heliopolis (= City of the Sun, in Egypt) was known to the Mohammedans as Ain-Shems = Eye of the Sun. In the Old Testament there are many simple allusions to the eye and eyes of Jehovah; and the eye of God is often represented in Christian art and architecture, sometimes in a triangle (Didron, *Christ. Iconog.*, p. 31). The seven planets (including the sun and moon) are doubtless represented by the seven eyes graven upon a stone in Zechariah iii. 10, and also by the seven lamps of the vision, *ibid.* iv. 1-12, where they are interpreted as "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth" (from 2 Chron. xvi. 9). In Revelation we again find the seven lamps (i. 4; iv. 5) and seven eyes (in the seven horns of the little lamb, v. 6), as well as seven stars and seven lamp-stands (i. 12). In Ezekiel x. 12 (cf. i. 18) we find eyes (for stars) on the bodies and wings of the four cherubim, and on the four wheels with which they are severally connected. The head of the Kabbalistic Macroprosopus (= great countenance) is conceived in profile, showing the right eye (also said to be two in one), of white brilliance, without eyebrows or eyelashes, never closing, etc. (*Zohar*, "Iddera Zuta," IV). All this is evidently of solar suggestion, like the Assyrian concept of Merodach as the "open-eyed of the gods" ("Insc. of Nebuchadnezzar," IX, 47; in *Records of the Past*, N. S., II, p. 122).

In Egyptian mythology, much is made of the solar and lunar eyes, which are either conceived as the two eyes of the cosmic deity or assigned to separate gods. The sun is often the right eye of Ra, the sun-god by name. In the *Litany of Ra*, where he is recognized as the *pantheos*, his form is that of the Sacred Eye (I, 24)—he "glorifies his eye" (30)—"makes the divine eye move" (37)—is "the wonderful one who dwells in his eye" (42)—"the adult who dilates his eye, and who fills his eye" (here the moon, 47)—"his form is that of the being who speaks to his eye" (57)—and as "the great god who raises his two eyes, his form is

that of the double luminary" (apparently for the sun of the two horizons, 74). In the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Amen (or Amen-Ra) is "the master of the two eyes" (CLXIII, 9). In the earlier Theban Recension the soli-cosmic Ra "who dwelleth in his Disk, riseth in his two eyes" (XV, b, 2); and it is said to him: "Thou didst stretch out the heavens wherein thy two eyes might travel" (XV, b, 3). In the Inscription of Darius at El Khargeh, the left eye of Ra is the moon and his right eye his "essence" or soul (*Records of the Past*, VIII, p. 136, line 21). In a hymn to Amen-Ra, he is addressed as the one creator "from whose eyes mankind proceeded, of whose mouth are the gods" (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 131); while elsewhere all good things are produced from the eye of Ra, evil things from that of Set or Typhon (*ibid.*, note 1). In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased



THE EGYPTIAN CELESTIAL EYE.

One of a pair, both exactly alike, representing the sun of the east and west respectively, and traveling from east to west as viewed from the northern hemisphere. (From the Turin Papyrus, Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Chap. CLXIII, vignette, as referred to the solar Amen-Ra in the text; in Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*.)

sometimes represents himself as dwelling in the *utchat* or celestial eye (XLII, etc.); again he is an emanation from the two eyes of Amen (CLXIII, 10, Saïte).

The Egyptian celestial eyes are frequently figured in pairs, sometimes right and left (for the sun of the two horizons as well as for the sun and moon), and sometimes furnished with winged legs for the purpose of traveling across the heaven (e. g., *Book of the Dead*, CLXIII, 14, Saïte, and Turin Papyrus, vignette). The solar eye is said to be seven cubits wide, and to have a pupil of three cubits (*ibid.*, CI, both Recensions).

On the Neapolitan stele it is Khnum as the cosmic god "whose right eye is the solar disk, whose left eye is the moon" (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 67). We also find the sun as the eye of Shu, the personification of light or space (*Book of the Dead*, CLIV, etc.), and as

the eye of Tum, the sun-god of the west, the underworld, autumn and winter (*ibid.*, XC, XCIII, LXXVIII,— in the last text the deceased is created from the eye of Tum). Shu and the goddess Tefnut are sometimes associated as husband and wife, probably for day and night respectively. Tefnut, = the Sprinkler (from *tef* = to spit, to sprinkle, etc.), is generally taken for the goddess of rain and dew; but as she is often figured with an eye on her head as her special attribute (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, III, p. 191), while there is an Egyptian word *tef* for the pupil of the eye, it is not improbable that Tefnut was a figure of the moon as a weeping eye. The pupil of the eye being circular is even a more appropriate symbol of the full moon and the sun than the entire organ. In the *Book of the Dead*, CLXIII, "the middle of the pupil of his eye" appears to refer to the sun.

The Egyptian goddess Maat is represented with her eyes sealed with wafers (with closed eyes, as Diodorus has it; I, 48). She belongs to the region or hall of Maat or Maati (the double Maat) where the Judgment of the Dead is held, and was perhaps originally a figure of the night and the underworld as associated with darkness and blindness. The Greek goddess of justice, Themis (with the name of the Egyptian Themei), has her eyes blindfolded, as does our Justice; and Plutarch speaks of a statue of the Chief Judge at Thebes with closed eyes (*De Iside*, 10). The goddess Hathor is sometimes called "the eye of Ra"; the eyes of the deceased being assigned to her in the *Book of the Dead* (XLII), where we also read of "the eye of Sechet" (CXLIV). In later Egyptian mythology the lunar eye was often assigned to Isis, the Isiac Eye becoming a common symbol and charm. In the "Lamentations of Isis" "the sacred eye" is the moon (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 122). The three phases of the moon, waxing, full, and waning (or on the two horizons and at the meridian), appear to be represented by the three Grææ (= old women) of the Greeks, with one eye (and one tooth) in common, which each uses in turn when needed (Schol. ad *Aeschyl. Prom.*, 793); and Lamia, the cruel Libyan queen, is probably a lunar figure, for Zeus gave her the power to remove and replace her eyes (Diod., XX, 41; Plut., *De Curios.*, 2).

In the Osiris cult, which finally gained the paramount place in the religion of the Egyptians, the cosmic eyes were assigned to Osiris, or to his son Horus; the concept reaching its highest development in connection with the latter. Osiris sometimes represents the old sun in the west and Horus the young sun in the east; again both are recognized as general solar or cosmic personifications.

thus often being assimilated to Ra; and still again, Horus becomes the moon-god. Osiris (in Egyptian *Asar*) had a Babylonian counterpart *Asari*, both words being said to signify the "Mighty One"; but the Egyptian and Babylonian forms are alike written with two ideographs, one (*as*) denoting a place, and the other (*ar* or *ari*) an eye,—merely to express the pronunciation, as is generally held (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 164). Plutarch says that some derived the word Osiris from the Egyptian equivalents of the Greek *os* = many and *iri* = eye (which is of course erroneous) and that the god was represented by an eye and a scepter (*De Iside*, 10 and 51). Macrobius says that Osiris is the sun and is represented by a scepter with an eye in it to express the idea of god surveying the universe (*Sat.*, I). *Har* is the Egyptian form of *Horus*, while *ar* is an eye; and although *Har* is ordinarily written with a hieroglyphic sparrowhawk, that bird appears to have been made the symbol of the god (who was represented hawk-headed) because of its sharp sight. Horapollo (I, 6) says the hawk was chosen as a symbol of the sun "from its being able to look more intently toward its rays than any other bird; whence also under the form of a hawk they depicted the Lord of Vision." The solar hawk, strictly speaking, has only one eye; and in the *Book of the Dead* we read that "The sacred hawk with its left eye and left side equally black (i. e., invisible) appears in the sky, as well as the stars" (CIX, 8, Saïte). In a Pyramid text it is said of the eyes of Horus that one is white and the other black (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 497).

Where the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* reads: "To the Mighty One (Osiris) has his eye been given" (at sunrise), the Saïte Recension speaks of "the risings of the eye of the sun" in connection with Horus, who "makes his own eye light the earth" (LXIV, 22, 25). In XVII, 30 (Saïte), we read of "the sun's eye on the morning of his daily birth." In XCII, 2 (Saïte), "The eye of Horus is set free" (at sunrise). In both Recensions it is Horus who produces or regulates the years by his eye (LXXVIII). The deceased sometimes identifies himself with the eye of Ra or of Horus (CXXXVII, CXLIX, etc.). In the Saïte Recension, he gives back the sight to the eyes of Osiris (LV, 2), and rescues and avenges the (solar) eye of that god (CXLVII, 23). In CXLIV, it is Thoth (as the moon-god) who presents the lunar eye of Horus in the night-time. The eye of Horus is also the moon in VIII, 2 (Saïte): "Thoth's hand makes up and improves the eye of Horus that shines like an ornament on the forehead of Ra." In the Theban Recension, Papyrus of Ani, (as rendered by Budge), Thoth

"with his own fingers" performed the filling of the *utchat* or celestial eye (here the moon), and Set sent forth a thunder-cloud against the right eye of Ra (the sun). "Thoth removed the thunder-cloud from the eye of Ra and brought back the eye. . . . Others, however, say that the thunder-cloud is caused by sickness in the eye of Ra, which weepeth for its companion eye (the moon). At this time Thoth cleanseth the Right Eye of Ra" (XVII, 68-74). In the Theban Recension we also find an allusion to pus in the eye of Tum, the sun-god of the west, etc., where the Saïte parallel has: "A circle appears around the Eye of Tum" (XCIII, 4).

In an ancient text Horus is represented as sitting solitary in his darkness or blindness, while in another he says, "I am Horus, and I come to search for mine eyes" (from the Royal Ritual of Abydos, as cited by Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 114). As Plutarch has it, Typhon (Set) struck out and swallowed the (lunar) eye of Horus, but "afterward gave it back to the sun" (*De Iside*, 55). Set is the "eater of the eye" in the *Book of the Dead* (CXVI, 1. Saïte) and in the *Book of Respirations* (in the latter also being called the "Fiery-eyed"—*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 127). In the *Book of the Opening of the Mouth*, the priest in the character of Horus says: "I have delivered mine eye from his (Set's) mouth, I have cut off his leg" (Trans. of Budge, II, pp. 44). Again, Thoth makes Seth disgorge the Eye and replace it in the face of Ra or Horus (Budge, *Papyrus of Ani*, II, p. 384, note). The daily restoration of the (solar) eye of Horus was supposed to be effected by a religious ceremony in the great temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 62).

Set transformed himself into a black hog (as a figure of the storm as well as of the night and underworld) when he did the evil deed to the eye of Horus (*Book of the Dead*: the Theban Rec. referring this deed to "a mighty storm" and "a blow of fire"—for lightning—CXII). The hand of Isis wiped away or stopped the blood from the eye of Horus when it was injured (XCIX, both Recensions); while in another view in the *Book of the Dead* (XVII), Thoth heals the eye of Horus by spitting upon it (Theban) or washing it (Saïte).—spittle often being a symbol of rain or dew. In the most obvious view the blinding or swallowing of the eye of Horus occurs once a month, when the moon wanes into invisibility; the first appearance of the new moon being celebrated at or near the middle of the months when they began with the full moon. Thus in the *Book of the Dead* the Osirified deceased says that he "rescued the (lunar) eye when it waned at the coming of the festival of the fifteenth day" (LXXX, Theban.—Here the Saïte is doubtless cor-

rupt: "I tear off (?) the eye of Horus when is suppressed his coming at the festival of the fifteenth. . . . I provide for Thoth in the retreat of the moon"). In a variant view the waning of the moon appears to be represented by the closing of the *utchat* (*ibid.*, XLII), which is personified as Utchat or Uatchit "who came from the eye of Horus" in LXVI (both Recensions). Again, where the Theban says that "the hands of Horus" were caught by Sebek (the crocodile god) in his fish-net (for the night) and brought in on the festivals of the month and half-month, the Saïte substitutes "the eyes of Horus" (CXIII, 4).

In another view the blinding of the lunar eye belongs to an eclipse of the moon, while an eclipse of the sun might as naturally be considered a blinding of the solar eye. There appears to be nothing of this in the *Book of the Dead*; but Plutarch says: "There are some that will have the shadow of the earth, upon which they believe the moon to fall when eclipsed, to be Typhon." And he adds: "The Egyptians believe and relate that Typhon (Set) at one time smote the eye of Horus and blinded him, indicating by the blinding of him, the lunar eclipse. This the sun cures again presently by shining on it (the moon) as soon as it has escaped from the shadow of the earth" (*De Iside*, 43).

Chap. CXL of the *Book of the Dead* (in Saïte Recension only) is entitled: "The book of the rites of the last day in the second month of the season Pert, when the *utchat* (celestial eye, the moon) is full on the last day in the second month of Pert." It is the festival day "when the sun arrives" (9, 12); and on this day, in the fourth hour of the night, it is said (4, 5) that "the solar eye returns to its place" on the head of Ra (who is figured in the vignette with the eye on his head). In CXXV (Theban) this is "the day when the *utchat* is full in Annu (doubtless the heaven as well as the terrestrial Heliopolis = City of the Sun) at the end of the second month of the season Pert." (The Saïte has: "On the thirtieth day of the second month" etc.). Plutarch says that "on the thirtieth day of the month Epiphi they (the Egyptians) celebrate the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus, when the sun and moon are come into one straight line (of course with the earth): inasmuch as they consider not the moon alone, but the sun also, as the eye and light of Horus" (*De Iside*, 52). Pert is the season of growing; its second month being Em-hir (in Coptic *Amshier*, *Mechcir*, or *Mekhir*), the sixth month of the Egyptian year. Anciently this month must have begun at about the time of the winter solstice, for the year began with the Nile inundation at about the time of the summer solstice. As

the two Egyptian texts evidently fix the festival in question at the time of the full moon, we may safely conclude that Plutarch refers to the same time when he says that the sun and moon (in opposition) are then come into one straight line (with the earth); but his expression is a rather loose one, for strictly speaking this line (with the sun and moon in opposition) is straight only during lunar eclipses, of rare occurrence on any calendar day. Taking the Egyptian texts in connection with Plutarch, it appears that the festival was celebrated at night on the thirtieth or last day of Em-hir, in other words on the eve of the first day of the following month, Phamenoth,—somewhat like our Christmas Eve festival at the time of the winter solstice. From all of which it would seem to follow that the festival of the solar and lunar eyes, the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus, belonged to the night of the first full moon after the winter solstice, and to the eve of Phamenoth 1st, of course in a lunar year,—somewhat as the Jewish Passover begins at night at the time of the full moon of Nisan (the first month of spring and of the sacred year), while our Easter was finally fixed on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. But Plutarch says the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus belonged (in his time) to the 30th of Epiphi, as does Athanasius Kircher in his *Oedipus Aegypticus*, (Part II, Vol. I, p. 265); and Epiphi began June 25th, at about the time of the summer solstice, in the later Alexandrian calendar (*Records of the Past*, II, p. 161). Moreover, according to Plutarch and others, the moon was fullest on the 17th of the Egyptian lunar month; which appears to indicate that the Birthday in question was at one time a new-moon festival, Plutarch's "one straight line" then being referable to a conjunction of the sun and moon. Again, in the Dendera planisphere we find an encircled human eye in the first degrees of Aries, where it probably marked the spring equinox shortly before the Christian era. The Triangle of Aries, in the Babylonio-Greek sphere, appears to have marked the same equinox in an earlier period; and we have already seen that the Christian eye of God was sometimes figured in a triangle.

In Norse mythology the sun in the underworld is Solblindi (= sun-blind) and Helblindi (= hell-blind). Another Norse figure of the sun at night and in winter is Hodur (Hodr or Hod = the hid), the blind god who slays Baldur (the day and summer sun) with a twig of mistletoe as the winter plant (*Elder Edda*, "Voluspa," 37; *Younger Edda*, I, 49). A variant of this myth is found in the Persian *Shah Nameh*, where the solar hero Rustem blinds Isfendiyar (as a lunar figure) with a poisoned arrow made from a branch

of the tamarisk tree, so that he dies (XV, 3, 27, [1711, 1712]): The ancient Mexicans had a god Yztacoliuhqui, whose name signifies "Lord of Blindness" and who was figured with his eyes bandaged (Kingsborough, *Mex. Antiq.*, VI, p. 206). The Sabeans considered Mars "the god of the blind"; while among the Euphratean names of the planet we find Nu-Mia (= that which is not), "referring to the fact that Mars recedes from the earth until it is almost invisible" (R. Brown, *Prim. Constels.*, I, p. 73). This planet is doubtless the "red-eyed god" among "the seven Glorious Ones" in the *Book of the Dead* (XVII).

In Greek mythology the single (solar) eye of Polyphemus, the greatest of the Cyclopes, is put out by Ulysses (*Od.*, I, 69; IX, 383). Orion (originally a figure of the summer sun) was blinded by Ænopion (as a figure of night and winter), after the former became intoxicated and ravished the latter's daughter. Orion recovered his sight by traveling toward the east (through the underworld) and exposing his eyeballs to the rays of the rising sun. He then sought to take vengeance on Ænopion, but could not find him, as he was hidden in the earth; so Orion proceeded to Crete, where he lived as a hunter with Artemis, the lunar goddess (Apollod., I, 4, 3; Parthen., *Epot.*, 20; Hygin., *Poet. Ast.*, II, 34). Orion is constellated in the house of Taurus, the sign of the spring equinox about 4000-2000 B. C., and Plutarch tells us that the constellation of Orion (the Egyptian Sahu) was sacred to Horus (*De Iside*, 22). According to some, the name of Orion's daughter was Aero (= of the air, probably for the moon), while others say it was Merope, the same as that of one of the Pleiades in Taurus. Artemis was the goddess of the month Artemision or Artemesius under Taurus; and in one account she finally shot Orion to death, while in another the earth sent forth a monster scorpion that killed him,—as doubtless suggested by the concept of the summer sun born or recovering his sight at the spring equinox in Taurus, and dying at the autumn equinox in Scorpio, where his blinding also belongs.

Cheiron, doubtless in his character of a surgeon, restored the sight of Phœnix, whose eyes were put out by his father when the latter's mistress accused Phœnix of dishonoring her (Apollod., III, 13, 8). This Phœnix is a mere variant of the red solar bird of the same name, the Bennu of Egyptian mythology, which in the *Book of the Dead* is identified with Osiris, probably as the god of the setting sun (XVII). On his journey through the celestial regions the deceased is said to come like a hawk (for the rising sun) and go out like a Bennu (for the setting sun.—*Ibid.*, XIII, CXXII).

But the personified Phœnix of the Greek myth appears to represent the sun in general; his father, the day; the latter's mistress, the earth.

Ilus, the founder of Troy (Ilion), in his solar character became blind when he rescued the palladium from the burning temple (for that of the heaven at sunset); but his sight was miraculously restored (Plut., *Paral.*, 17). Anchises, grandson of Ilus and father of Æneas by Aphrodite (as the dawn), boasted of his intercourse with the goddess and consequently was stricken blind by the lightning of Zeus,—or was thus lamed or killed in variant accounts (Hygin., *Fab.*, 94; Serv. *ad Aen.*, II, 648, etc.). The solar hero Œdipus put out his own eyes near the close of his frightful career (Apollod., III, 5, 8; Soph., *Oed. Tyr.*, 774 et seq.), or was blinded by Polybus in another account (Schol. *ad Eurip. Phœn.*, 26). Plutus, the god of wealth, originally the same as Hades, was a blind god (Aristoph., *Plut.*, 90, etc.), blind from birth according to some (Clement Alex., *Strom.*, IV, 5). Ephialtes, one of the giants of Greek mythology, was deprived of his left eye by Apollo, and of his right eye by Hercules (Apollod., I, 6, 2).

In the Hindu *Rigveda* (I, 112, 8) the Aswins (as the sun's rays) cured the blindness and lameness of Paravrij, who is called Prandha as "the blind" and Srona as "the lame" (II, 13, 12; XV, 7). As "the physicians (of the gods)," the Aswins give eyes to Rijraswa, who had been blinded by his father, apparently as a figure of the night (*ibid.*, II, 116, 8); and Kanwa also has his sight miraculously restored (II, 117, 8). In the *Ramayana* (VI, 46) it is related that Vibhishan, by drawing his fingers wet with dew across the eyes of Sugriva, freed them from the dulling mist placed upon them by the magic of a giant (the figure of night or winter), who had thrown Sugriva (the soli-cosmic figure) into a stupor. In the *Harivancas* (line 1908), Madri has two sons, Andhakas (= the blind one, for the dark night) and Vrishnis (= the sheep, for the bright day with its fleecy clouds). In a Russian tale from Afanassieff (V, 39; in De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, p. 219), the night (and underworld) figure is a servant girl who takes out and carries away the eyes of her maiden mistress (the day), and then marries the king (apparently the heaven) to whom the lady was betrothed. But the lady recovers her eyes from the girl, one at a time; washes them in her own saliva (the dew) when she arises at dawn; puts them back in their sockets and recovers her sight. Finally the servant girl is herself blinded and torn to pieces by being tied to the tails of horses,—the night figure thus being assimilated to the waning moon.

In another tale from Afanassieff (V, 35) the heaven is apparently represented by the beautiful Anna who blinds one man (for the moon), and cuts off the feet of another (for the sun); but the two men meet in a forest (for the night and winter) and are restored by means of the water of a fountain that has the property of turning a dry twig green (for the spring rains, perhaps as associated with the celestial Eridanus). In the *Shah Nameh* (Chap. V) Kai-Kaus (a solar figure) and his whole army are bound and imprisoned in a land of demons (for the underworld), where they become blind; but they regain their sight when their eyes are anointed with the blood of the White Demon (apparently for the moon), who is slain by Rustem (another solar figure).

The ancient Thracian bard Thamyris was deprived of sight and the power of singing because he claimed to surpass the Muses in song (Homer, *Il.*, II, 595; Apollod., I, 3, 3, etc.). The Greek Stesichorus was blinded by Aphrodite because he spoke ill of her in a poem, but when he recanted in another poem he recovered his sight (Isocrat., *Helene*, 64; cf. Schol. ad *Eurip. Orest.*, 249). At Sparta there was a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis or Optilitis, founded by Lycurgus in gratitude for the recovery of his wounded eye, or for the saving of his remaining one (Pausan., III, 18, 1; Plut., *Lycurg.*, 11). The seer Ophioneus, blind from birth, miraculously recovered his sight, but was soon stricken blind again as foretold by an oracle (Pausan., IV, 12, 7; 13, 2,—in accordance with the lunar mythos). In the later Egyptian belief Isis cured those who were long blind, and others deprived of various parts of the anatomy,—according to Diodorus (I, 25), who also tells us that in the Chersonesus the goddess Hemithæa wrought similar cures (V, 28). Æsculapius cured those who were born blind, as well as the lame, etc. (Justin Martyr, I *Apol.*, 22). He cured Epidaurus, nearly blind, by means of a written tablet which he sent to the afflicted man, who found he could read it when he looked upon it (Pausan., X, 38, 7). According to one of the votive tablets found in the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, a blind man dreamed in the sanctuary that his eyes were opened by the fingers of the god, so that he saw trees for the first time; and in the morning he went forth cured (Frazer's *Pausanias*, note to I, 27, 3). A blind boy was cured when one of the sacred dogs of the same sanctuary licked his eyes (Festus, s. v. *In insula*; this being by saliva). Buddha cured the blind, among his various miracles (Johnston, *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, III, p. 46). At the moment of his incarnation the blind received sight merely through longing to behold his glory,

while the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, the lame walked, etc. (Rhys-Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 64). He was accredited with the cure of a group of five hundred blind men, whose staves, which they stuck into the ground, grew into a great grove called "The Getting of Eyes." near Sravasti. It was visited in the fourth century A. D. by the Chinese traveler Fa-Hien, who preserves the legend (*Travels of Fa-Hien*, XX). In a Buddhist parable a man born blind is cured by means of four simples applied to his eyes after being mashed in the mouth (i. e., mixed with the saliva) of a Rishi. The afflicted one first sees trees and flowers, and then the sun; and the parable is explained to the effect that Buddha is the Rishi, who opens the eyes of the spiritually blind with the four great truths of his doctrine (Carus, *Gospel of Bud.*, ed. 1895, p. 160; etc.). In Chap. V of the *White Lotus of Dharma* there is a story of the cure of a blind man whose malady arose because of his sinful conduct in a former life on earth. Indeed the Hindus even specified the sins for which various afflictions in after-lives are the punishments; blindness being for the killing of a mother; dumbness for the killing of a father, etc., according to the *Ayecn Akbery* (III, pp. 168, 175), while in the *Laws of Manu* (XI, 52) it is said that a stealer of a lamp will be blind in a future life and that he who (sinfully) extinguishes one will be one-eyed. In the Buddhist legend of "The Eyes of Kunala," the Prince Kunala, son of Asoka, has his eyes torn out by order of his stepmother Tishya because he repulsed her advances; but even so he felt no hatred for her, wherefore his sight was miraculously restored, while she was burned to death by order of the king. This is a story of a solar figure, as son of the day, in his relation to a female personification of the night as assimilated to the underworld. But in the legend it is added that Kunala was blinded as the finishing stroke to his punishment for having in a former life put out the eyes of five hundred gazelles (for the stars), which he had caught in a net (for the night.—From Bur nouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme*, 2d ed., pp. 360 et seq.).

In the Old Testament there are several instances of blindness that appear to have been suggested by that of the solar god in old age, primarily at night. Israel becomes blind from age (Gen. xlviii. 10), as does Isaac (1 Sam. iii. 25). The solar hero Samson, near the close of his career, is blinded, bound, and imprisoned by the Philistines (as the forces of night and winter); his prayer being, in the Hebrew: "Remember me and strengthen me, yea, once more, O God (Elohim), and I will wreak vengeance for (or of) one of my two eyes on the Philistines" (Judges xvi. 21, 28; where the

A. V., like the Vulg. and Sept., incorrectly has "for my two eyes"). Some have supposed that the original Samson was a one-eyed god (see Carus, *Story of Samson*, p. 110); but the vengeance for which he prays may reasonably be referred to his solar eye that shall finally cause the destruction of the forces of night and winter.

Jehovah "opens the eyes of the blind," according to Psalm cxlvi. 8; but in the canonical Old Testament there is only one story of the miraculous cure of the blind, and in that Jehovah smites a whole army with blindness and subsequently restores its sight (2 Kings vi. 18-20; cf. story of Kai-Kaus and his army, cited above). The cure of the blindness of the sun-god appears in a highly developed form in the long story of Tobit and his son Tobias (mythic and verbal duplications), found in the Book of Tobit among the Old Testament Apocrypha. Tobit (for the old sun), whose wife was Anna (for the heaven or the moon), being unclean for seven days after burying a man at Nineveh, lay at night in the open air, and certain small birds "muted warm dung" into his open eyes, thus blinding him (Tobit ii. 10.—They are swallows in the Vulg., but swallows do not fly at night. It is quite probable that they represent the constellated Stymphalian birds, the Eagle, Swan, and Vulture—our Lyra—above Capricorn; in which sign the solar Tobit would therefore appear to have been blinded at the winter solstice). The young Tobias went on a journey accompanied by the archangel Raphael (*ibid.* iv, v), and when they reached the Tigris (apparently for the celestial Eridanus as perhaps connected with the Stream from Aquarius) a great fish leapt out of the water and would have devoured Tobias had it not been overcome by him. (It is probably Cetus, the constellated sea-monster of winter and night that swallowed Jonah.) The fish was eaten with the exception of the heart, liver, and gall; Raphael explaining that the gall cured blindness (*ibid.* vi. 1-8.—as was anciently believed of the galls of fishes and various animals—Pliny. *H. N.*, XXIX, 38; XXXII, 24; etc.). Proceeding to Ecbatana, Tobias married his kinswoman Sara (apparently for the earth-mother), who was loved by the demon Asmodeus (the Persian Aeschma deva, "the div of concupiscense."—*Avesta*, "Vend.," XI, 26; etc.—apparently here as a figure of winter). This demon had killed Sara's seven former husbands (Tobit vi. 13, 14, etc.—who perhaps represent the seven summer months of the Iranian *Buudahish*, XXV, 7); but Tobias burned the heart and liver of the fish in the marriage chamber and drove the demon into Egypt, where he was bound (Tobit viii. 3—Egypt being a common type of the night and underworld). Tobias finally returns to

Nineveh and sprinkles the gall of the fish on the eyes of Tobit, whereupon the white scales fall off (cf. Acts ix. 18) and his sight is restored (Tobit xi. 1-14,—probably at the spring equinox in Aries). The allusion to the white scales suggests that the disease known to the Greeks as *leukomata* (= whiteness, our cataract) was confused with the scaly *albugo*, for the cure of which latter the dung of hawks and doves was employed by the Greeks (Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIX, 38). In the "Epistle of Jeremias" (in Baruch vi. 37) it is said that the idols of the heathen cannot restore sight to a blind man (implying that only Jehovah can do so).

The one great Old Testament prophecy of miraculous cures that are to signalize the Messianic kingdom—including the restoration of the blind, lame, deaf, and dumb—is that of Isaiah xxxv (cf. xlii. 7, 16, 18-20, where opening blind eyes is given a figurative sense, as often elsewhere). The literal cure of the blind was certainly one of the miracles expected of the Messiah, in accordance with Isaiah xxxv. 5. Thus the Emperor Vespasian, who was recognized by some as the Messiah expected in his time (Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 12; Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 4; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VI, 5, 4), is said to have cured a blind man at Alexandria by sprinkling some of his saliva (i. e., spitting) on the latter's eyeballs in compliance with an admonition of the Egyptian Serapis, a god of miraculous cures (Tacit., *Hist.*, IV, 81; Sueton., *Vesp.*, 7). Human spittle, especially that of a fasting person, was anciently held efficacious in various diseases, chiefly those of the eyes (Pliny, *H. N.*, XXVIII, 7 and 22; *Bab. Talmud*, "Sanhed.," f. 101, 102, etc.; "Vajikra Rabba," f. 175, 2, etc.); and in the nature mythos, as we have already seen from several texts, spittle represents rain and dew.

Jesus Christ is said to have cured many blind persons (Matt. xi. 5; xv. 30; xxi. 14; Luke vii. 21). Some have supposed that this was suggested by the Egyptian belief in the opening of the eyes of the deceased (and the restoration of the other parts of the body) in the world of the dead,—in which connection we may notice that it is Seb, the earth-god, who there opens the eyes of the deceased, etc.—according to the *Book of the Dead*, XXVI (both Recensions). But in the stories of individual cures of the blind by Jesus there are various elements more or less apparently belonging to the nature mythos. In the canonical Gospels there are six such stories, which in the extant texts might appear to relate to as many distinct cases, whereas in all probability there were but two original Gospel stories, of each of which we now have three variants; and there can be little

doubt that both original stories are found in Mark, now generally recognized as the original New Testament Gospel in a corrupt form.

In Mark viii. 22-26, Jesus leads a blind man out of Bethsaida, "and having spit upon his eyes (as in the cure by Vespasian), having laid his hands upon him, he asked him if anything he beholds. And having looked up he (the man) said, I behold the men, for as trees I see them walking"—i. e., indistinctly, somewhat as the blind man in the Buddhist parable at first saw trees when cured, and as the blind man cured by Æsculapius dreamed he saw them; these trees perhaps having belonged originally to the forest of night and winter, in which the blind man meets the lame man in one of the Russian tales already cited. "Then again he laid his hands upon his eyes, and made him look up, and he was restored, and looked upon all mean clearly"—whereupon Jesus charged him to tell no one. This gradual restoration of sight, while the man looks up, corresponds to the waxing of the moon as it gradually faces the sun, so to speak; while Bethsaida (= Fishing-town) may have been suggested as the scene of the miracle because the moon belongs to the celestial sea,—or perhaps as a terrestrial representative of Pisces, the spring sign of the Fishes at the beginning of the Christian era, under which sign the birthday of the cosmic eyes may have been placed by some. In Matt. ix. 27-31, the story is widely varied; without definite localization; with nothing of the spittle, and with two men introduced as cured through their faith (probably for both sun and moon). Nevertheless the touching of the eyes by Jesus, and his charge to tell no one, are retained as in Mark. In John ix. 1-14, where the scene is laid at Jerusalem, we again have only one blind man, blind from birth (like the new moon,—and the afflicted one in the Buddhist parable; some of those cured by Æsculapius, etc.). He is a beggar (probably as belonging to winter, the season of nature's poverty), who is cured by Jesus with his spittle. But here Jesus "spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, and applied the clay to the eyes of the blind man," and was asked "who sinned, this man (in a former life) or his parents, that he should be born blind?" (obviously referring to a reincarnation doctrine like that of the Hindus and Buddhists, already considered). John's blind man does not recover his sight until he has gone by command of Jesus and washed in the pool of Siloam, "which is interpreted Sent" (but probably signifies "flowing"). It appears to represent the eastern ocean in which the solar and lunar eyes are washed before rising,—the water in which Ra purifies himself to be in

possession of his strength in the eastern part of the heaven" (*Book of the Dead*, CXLV, 3, Saïte).

In Mark x. 46, 52, Jesus is on his way out of Jericho when he finds a blind beggar sitting by the roadside—like the blind Horus, inactive,—primarily for the sun of winter and night, secondarily for the moon). He was "a son of Timæus, Bartimæus" (Greek Timaios = worthy; Chaldee Timmai, and Bar-Timmai = Son of Timmai). "And he, casting away his garment (for the darkness of night), having leaped up (v. r., 'risen up,' like the sun and moon), he came to Jesus," who finally says, "Go, thy faith has healed thee; and immediately he received sight and followed Jesus on the way" (as the moon follows the sun and vice versa). Jericho (= Place of Fragrance), one of the garden spots of Palestine, was famous for its balsam (Balm of Gilead), a remedy for diseases of the eyes "and dimness of sight" (Strabo, XVI, 2, 41); whence the town was naturally chosen as the scene of this cure, which belongs primarily to the solar eye in spring. Jericho was also famous for its roses, and the desert is to "blossom as a rose" when the blind are restored in the prophecy of Isaiah xxxv. In Luke xviii. 35-43, the story reappears in substantially the same form as in Mark, except that the cure through faith takes place while Jesus is on his way *into* Jericho, with the names of the blind man and his father omitted. In Matt. xx. 29-34, we evidently have the same story as in Mark, with the scene on the way *out of* Jericho; but with two unnamed blind men cured (as before in Matt.).

In Acts ix. 8-18, Paul is miraculously stricken with blindness and cured after three days; while *ibid.* xiii. 11, Barjesus the sorcerer is similarly blinded, "not seeing the sun for a season," as Paul foretold. In Luke xxii. 64, Jesus is blindfolded near the close of his career; while in John xi. 35, "Jesus shed tears" (ἐδάκρυσεν, a word nowhere else used in the New Testament), like the cosmic Ra as "the timid one who sheds tears," whose "form is that of the afflicted" (*Litany of Ra*, I, 29).

In the apocryphal *Infancy of the Saviour* (27, 28), a boy near death from a disease of the eyes was cured by being sprinkled with some of the water in which the infant Jesus had been washed; and another boy almost blind from the same disease was cured in the same way—both accounts probably having been suggested by the washing of the solar eye in the eastern ocean, in which, in another view, the sun-god himself is washed. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, those that censured the boy Jesus on account of his destructive miracles were stricken blind (first Greek and Latin forms, 5). In

the Acts of John, published by James in his *Apocrypha Anecdota*, it is said that Jesus, as seen by John, always had his eyes wide open, never at any time even winking,—evidently of solar or cosmic suggestion, like the eye or eyes of the Kabbalistic Macroprosopus and the Assyrian Merodach, already considered. The hare, a lunar symbol, was fabled to sleep with its eyes open (Plut., *Sym.*, IV, 5), and Horapollo says that the Egyptians indicated an opening by the picture of a hare because its eyes are always open (Horap., I, 26). The cat, another lunar symbol, is supposed to see in the dark and is sometimes said to sleep with one eye open. It was anciently believed that only the (solar) lion among quadrupeds was born with open eyes (Plut., *loc. cit.*), while the sharp-sighted animal *par excellence* was the lynx (personified as Lynkeus by the Greeks), of which wild fables were related (De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, II, 54). On the other hand, Horapollo tells us that the Egyptians symbolized a blind man by a mole or shrew-mouse, which was supposed to be blind (Horap., II, 63; cf. Plut. *loc. cit.*). It was sacred to Buto (= Uatchit, the personified celestial eye), according to Herodotus (II, 67). In one Egyptian legend Uatchit took the form of a shrew-mouse to escape from Set (Typhon); but in another view the shrew-mouse was identified with the blind Horus (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 370). As it burrows in the earth it is quite an appropriate symbol of the blind solar or lunar god in the underworld, etc.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE MILLENNIAL HOPE: A Phase of War-Time Thinking. By Shirley Jackson Case, Professor of Early Church History and New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp. vii, 253. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

A book occasioned by the war, which, however, should not give us the impression that it is of passing interest only, for we may be assured that the world's ills which kindle the "millennial hope" again and again in the heart of man shall not come to an abrupt end with the close of the present struggle. The volume before us is a war book only inasmuch as war, like any time of great distress, is liable to revive, in wider circles, a peculiar kind of fears and hopes which in ordinary times remain confined to religious fanatics, the so-called doctrine of pre-millenarianism, usually identified with the tenets of the Adventists, but individually held and preached by many popular evangelists. To combat these notions, and the passive pessimism which they engender regarding the world we live in, will hardly cease to be worth while until—are we permitted to say, until the real millennium shall arrive, the day when all of us shall be ready to seek salvation for mankind, to use Professor Case's own words,

not in that fond belief which "depicts in truly mythological fashion the coming of a day when God, Christ, and the angels will appear upon earth as realistically as ever Homer's gods descended from Mount Olympus" (p. 235), but in a "serious effort to secure the betterment of the world by means of popular education, social reforms, remedial legislation," etc. (p. 241)?

The first part of the program Professor Case begins putting into practice in his book, on a limited scale, to be sure, but with due reference to anything that is to the point. In that lucid and vivid style which is the result of a complete mastery of the facts combined with true historical intuition, the author gives us a brief review of all the most cherished metaphysical aspirations of the race that may be said to have ultimately contributed to the formation of Christian doctrines. Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman views as to the final destiny of the world are discussed (Chap. I), to be followed by a more detailed presentation of the "Hebrew and Jewish Hopes" (Chap. II), thus leading up to early Christian and later Christian beliefs in the matter (Chaps. III and IV), which implies an outline of the origin and early growth of Christianity as such. The last chapter, "Modern Estimate of Millennial Hopes," draws the author's conclusions. With the exception of this, which naturally maintains a more or less controversial attitude, the method employed by the author is purely historical, which, of course, does not exclude the possibility of a personal bias. Anybody, however, who is not barricaded behind an orthodoxy of the Billy Sunday type will at least come to realize in an *ad oculos* demonstration, as it were, what the "historical method" in Biblical matters is, and what it can do for him. Incidentally he may discover that a guide to both the Old and the New Testament, including their Apocryphal literature, is being put in his hands as attractive and reliable as could probably be prepared in a single little volume. It is this side of the book which will establish its value also in the eyes of those who may look upon the very discussion of pre-millennial hopes as an anachronism. It seems only fair to state this because, unfortunately, books of this kind hardly ever reach the circles which need them most, and for whom they are really intended. Under these circumstances, the low price fixed by the publishers certainly deserves commendation. A "Selected Bibliography" (six pages) affords ample opportunity for further study. Paper and binding are of high quality. Of typographical errors hardly any have been noticed.

BACK TO THE REPUBLIC. By *Harry F. Atwood*. Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1918. Pp. 154. Price \$1.00 net.

The author of this book believes in a republic, especially a republic such as ours was originally intended to be. He says (p. 15):

"In 1788 a group of real statesmen of great physical vigor, mental acumen, thorough knowledge, practical wisdom, far-sighted vision and moral courage assembled in Philadelphia and after months of discussion and deliberation produced the Constitution which provided for the *republic* of the United States of America. These men were equal to the opportunity, rose to the occasion, and builded better than they knew; for they established the *golden mean* and evolved the *standard* form of government."

The four essential elements of a republic are given as follows (p. 29):

"(1) An *executive* and (2) a *legislative* body, who, working together in a representative capacity, have all power of appointment, all power of legislation, all power to raise revenues and appropriate expenditures, and are required to

create (3) a *judiciary* to pass upon the justice and legality of their governmental acts and to recognize (4) certain inherent *individual rights*." And the author finds: "Take away any one or more of those four elements and you are drifting into autocracy. Add one or more to those four elements and you are drifting into democracy."

To elucidate further just how he would define a true republic, he gives the following "trinity classifications" (p. 37):

EXTREME	GOLDEN MEAN	EXTREME
Autocracy	REPUBLIC	Democracy
Tyrants	Statesmen	Demagogues
Bondage	Liberty	License
Oppression	Reason	Impulse
Arbitrariness	Arbitration	Agitation
Submission	Contentment	Discontent
Coercion	Justice	Anarchy
Reaction	Progress	Chaos
Feudalism	Property rights	Socialism

In conclusion the reader is called upon to "exert every effort and utilize every legitimate influence to assure a *republic* as the form of government" under which he intends to live (p. 125); for the author regards his principles as applicable anywhere on the globe, a "World Republic" to be formed of all the several "United States" that will come into being, including those of Africa. Thus the concert of nations would at last work in complete peace and harmony, like an immense clockwork. But human society is no clockwork.

However, we should recommend the book as a primer of political thinking for the use of the young and also large parts of our foreign population.

THE STORY OF BIBLE TRANSLATION. By *Mar L. Margolis*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917.

Professor Margolis, general editor of *The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text, A New Translation*, has accompanied this epoch-making work by a tasty little volume in which he relates the story of the growth of the Hebrew Scriptures and chronicles the various efforts from the earliest times down to the present to bring the Scriptures before his people in their various environments, culminating in the new translation into the English language, which, unless all signs fail, is to become the current speech of the majority of the children of Israel. "The Hebrew Torah became early unintelligible through the gradual substitution for the early tongue of Aramaic, which differs from Hebrew as much as High German differs from Low German or Dutch. Hence the necessity, first for marginal notes, the *masorah*, and later for *targums*, or interpretations after the Babylonian Captivity and later wherever the Jews were carried or driven. Thus the Septuagint arose, considered by Philo and his Alexandrian co-religionists as a work of inspired men, while the Palestinian Rabbis considered the day of the completion of that labor as one of the most unfortunate in Israel's history, seeing that the Torah could never be adequately translated." However all Jews "owe a debt of gratitude to the Christian Church, which, having received the Greek Scriptures at the hands of the Greek-speaking Jews of the Empire, with pious zeal kept them intact, and rescued from oblivion literary records of near-scriptural rank," as for example the First Book of the Maccabees.

Saadya (892-942), poet, philosopher and theologian, must be mentioned for his translation into Arabic: All the early Christian texts and translations are briefly described and whatever Jewish scholars assisted with their labors noted. As in a nutshell the whole stupendous history of the sacred labors is compressed into readable form, illustrated by interesting pictures of various codices.

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The Rev. William Norman Guthrie has published *The Gospel of Osiris*, "being an epic cento and paraphrase of ancient fragments," (New York, Brentano's, 1916), in which he presents the story of ancient Egyptian mythology, how Osar (which is another name for Osiris) is born of Nut, the sky-goddess, and Seb, the earth-god. How Anpu does not acknowledge his father Suti, and Suti turns traitor to Osar. Ra is the god of the sun and keeps the secret of his holy name, but Isis gains possession of it with the intention of saving her unborn son in case of danger. Osar becomes a victim of his hostile brother, and Isis searches for his body and finally finds it. Then Heru (Horus), the child-god, is born and grows up in spite of the persecution of his enemy. Growing to manhood, he begins his fight with Suti, his father's murderer and vanquishes him. Finally judgment is pronounced over Suti and Osar is vindicated.

These stories are related in unrhymed verse in poetical diction and represent the original spirit of the Egyptian stories. Professor Breasted, an Egyptologist of the University of Chicago, read the manuscript before publication and says of the author:

"In such a representation the subjective element is unavoidable, I suppose. Your representation of the sting from which Ra suffered, as doubt in the mind of the goddess, is a very fine touch, but of course it unhappily remains subjective and incapable of demonstration....I wish your poem a hearty *bon voyage*."

Mr. Guthrie believes in the kinship of religion, and so he sees a deeper meaning in the Biblical word "Out of Egypt have I called my son," by finding the Christian traces in the stories of ancient Egyptian mythology. He says in the foreword:

"'Out of Egypt have I called my son.' Was it not there that Plato married Moses in some mystic way, so that Philo the Jew dazzled the devout of cosmopolitan culture and aspiration with that theory of the *logos*, of the Word of God, which made it possible for the reputed writings of St. John and for the letters of St. Paul to work out a theory of the Christ in cosmic terms, which might safely obscure and leave out of view the merely racial or even narrowly national hopes of a Messiah? Jesus, as the Word of God, was called out of Egypt then to his throne of glory, whence he might exercise a veritable world-dominion as no Cæsar ever dreamed.

"And later it would seem that in Egypt we had the first truly Christian people, without record of an initial struggle between heathenry and the Gospel. The blessed Mary had replaced Isis, the little babe Jesus had replaced Horus, the passion of Christ had superseded the suffering and dying of Osiris, the Christian cross had been set up instead of the 'Tet' or fourfold cross with flail and crook in right and left, and Christ, called to the judgment of the dead, fulfilled all the functions of the righteous judge and the rewarder of the holy."

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